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CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 493

EDITORIALS:

ASIA FOR THE ASIATICS 496
LARCENY IN THE STOCK EXCHANGE 496
BRAVE NEW WORLD 497
PANIC FROM MARS 498

BEHIND THE DIES INTRIGUE by Paul Y. Anderson 499

MR. HEARST IN ECLIPSE by Ferdinand Lundberg 500

WHY GERMANY FEARED WAR by Louis Fischer 504

LIVING PHILOSOPHIES. V. THE CREED OF A SCIENTIFIC HUMANIST by Lancelot Hogben 506

POCKET GUIDE by Helen Woodward 509

ISSUES AND MEN by Oswald Garrison Villard 511

BOOKS AND THE ARTS:

BRAVE IMMORTAL DAN by Louise Bogan 512
GRASS ROOTS by Lincoln Kirstein 513
AN UNHABITUAL WAY by Babette Deutsch 514
PUBLIC OWNERSHIP IN ENGLAND by Keith Hutchison 515
FILMS by Franz Hoellering 516
RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 517
CHILDREN'S BOOKS: A SELECTED LIST by Lena Barksdale 519

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The Shape of Things

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[Unfortunately our printing and distributing schedule makes it necessary for us to go to press just before the elections and to appear immediately after them—just too late for advance comment to have any pertinence and too early to include any comment on the returns. Our last number contained a section-by-section discussion of the issues; in our next we plan to analyze the results.—THE EDITORS OF THE NATION.]

*

MR. HULL'S SPEECH TO THE NATIONAL Foreign Trade Convention was full of unexceptional sentiments. No one in this country, we hope, will challenge his condemnation of autarchy or his contention that freer international trade is a necessary foundation for durable peace. Unfortunately we must cast some doubts on his appreciation of the problems involved. Has he fully grasped the economic consequence of Munich? The integration of Mittel-Europa with German economy is already proceeding rapidly, giving the Nazis not merely a rich territory to exploit but practical command over the commercial policies of the Danubian countries. Consequently Germany's power to force its peculiar economic methods on the outside world has been immensely increased. Indeed, there are persons close to the State Department who are so impressed by the growth of German influence that they are working hard for an American-German trade pact. For this reason we could wish Mr. Hull had made it clear in his speech that no such agreement is possible if it involves acceptance of German barter methods and abandonment of the most-favored-nation principle. We should also feel happier if the political and economic moves of the State Department were clearly in the same direction. Is Mr. Hull aware of the extent to which a Franco victory in Spain will help the fascist powers in achieving cultural and commercial domination in Latin America? Or, nearer home, does he think it worth while to uphold the alleged rights of American oil companies at the cost of forcing Mexico into the fascist barter system with fatal effects on our trade?

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AMONG THE MANY OBSTACLES THAT MR. Hull faces are certain well-rooted domestic prejudices which high-tariff advocates are doing their best to foster. The prolonged negotiations for a trade pact with Britain are, it is reported, being still further delayed by a dispute about the future of sterling. We are attempting to get a guaranty that the pound will be maintained at its old parity with the dollar. It is true that a relapse in the pound would tilt the balance against this country by making it harder to sell American goods in Britain while cheapening British goods here. But it is futile to ignore the factors which are tending to push the value of the dollar up and to pull that of the pound down. The flight of capital to this country, which reached such huge proportions during the September crisis, has diminished but by no means come to an end. Again, while we have a large favorable balance of trade, Britain has an excess of imports so great that it can no longer be offset by "invisible" items—shipping revenues, interest on foreign investments, and so on. Consequently the only method of maintaining sterling at around its present level of $4.76 is to continue the shipment of gold to this country. The advantages of swapping goods and services for a superfluity of gold are more than dubious. In any case Britain's willingness and ability to ship gold are clearly limited. The alternative, if we insist on the maintenance of sterling or attempt to meet its depreciation by a new devaluation of the dollar, is a British embargo on capital exports leading inevitably to the control of exchanges and trade on autarchic lines. This would spell finis to Mr. Hull's efforts, and it would seem wiser to accept a larger volume of imports, recognizing that in our position an adverse balance of trade would be economically healthy.

*

ADOLF HITLER IS A PACIFIST. HE IS WILLING, he says, to consider an all-round reduction of armaments in the interest of peace, and he makes only one simple condition: there must be an end to "mischief-making" in the democracies. Mischief-maker-in-chief, mentioned by name, is that British critic of the Munich pact, Winston Churchill. In other words, world peace by way of disarmament will be brought about just as soon as everybody drops this continual nagging criticism and suspicion directed against the brown-shirted hoodlums in power in Berlin. Submission is not enough; you've got to take it and like it. Except for a few cantankerous Laborites and Liberals, Herr Hitler has so far had little to complain of in England. The British Parliament with indecent, almost guilty, haste approved Chamberlain's pact with Mussolini by a vote of 345 to 138. The Prime Minister was hardly challenged when he pointed to the Duce's great services to peace and reported that Mussolini had promised to withdraw all his troops from Spain—as soon as the non-intervention agreement had taken effect—and meanwhile to send no more in. But more troops and planes have been going in, and, several days before Mr. Chamberlain's remarks, Ciano had not only reiterated the determination of the axis to prevent Spain's becoming a "center of Communist infection" but had announced—days after the last Loyalist volunteers had left the front in Spain—that "Italy will not withdraw any more men except under an agreement for simultaneous withdrawal of volunteers from both sides." These facts were not pressed home, but sufficient opposition was expressed to lead Mr. Chamberlain to commend the totalitarian states for refusing similarly to "foul their nests." These are new words applied to criticism of their government by members of the British Commons. We suspect they will not be soon forgotten.

*

WITH HUNGARY'S ANNEXATION OF CLOSE to 5,000 square miles of its territory, Czechoslovakia, to use G. E. R. Gedye's striking simile, is "reduced to a well-gnawed bone." In fixing the boundary line the German and Italian arbitrators paid little attention to Hitler's much-advertised ethnological principles. Many districts allotted to Hungary are purely Slovak or Ruthenian. Nor did they take economic needs into account. Czechoslovakia is now wholly deprived of west to east communications, and Ruthenia starts life as a semi-autonomous state shorn of its chief towns and most fertile valleys. The real basis for the settlement was political, and it was dictated from Berlin, with Italy bowing gracefully to the inevitable. Hungary was given as much as suited German plans and no more. Its request for a common frontier with Poland, publicly and enthusiastically supported by Warsaw and with more discretion by Rome, was naturally vetoed. It was indeed rather naive to imagine that Germany, having captured the Bohemian fortress, was going to assist in the erection of a new barrier across its path to the Black Sea. Czechoslovakia now becomes a convenient corridor connecting the Reich with Rumania. Ruthenia, significantly renamed Carpathian Ukraine, provides a useful hostage for the good behavior of Poland. Under German influence and protection it could be made a focus of agitation for the minority rights of the millions of Ukrainians now restive under Polish rule. In this rearrangement of the map Britain and France were ignored by mutual consent of victor and victim. They may be permitted to guarantee the result and to contribute such financial aid as will further Germany's plans.

*

THE LIKELY DIVERSION OF SOME PART OF the government's borrowing next year to destructive purposes is hastening a rapprochement between Washington and Wall Street. It would be unfair to assume, however, that the President will henceforth make his

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economic policies entirely subservient to rearmament. To some extent he seems to be using the curiosities of business psychology, which more readily finds constructive angles in war preparations than in WPA projects, as a lever to hoist industry toward a bigger investment program. Rearmament is being discussed in terms of economic preparedness quite as much as in terms of more ships, guns, and planes, with particular stress laid on the necessity for ample power supplies and an efficient transport system. Achievement of the latter is one of the foremost problems now confronting the Administration, and the appeal to military necessity may succeed where rational economic arguments have failed. The case of the electric utilities is much less complicated. Lack of new investment over a long period of years, together with the long-term upward trend in power consumption, means an urgent need of new plant on purely civil grounds. The industry, however, has persistently defeated its own ends by insisting new capital could not be raised until the Administration changed its policies. The validity of this claim is doubtful. Many of the leading operating companies are making good profits, and several have recently been able to refund existing loans very cheaply. It is therefore high time, from the utilities' own point of view, that the legend of attempted federal destruction of the industry was forgotten. By giving the power executives a patriotic motive for doing something their own interests would impel them to do, the Administration has provided them with a perfect face-saver. This trick seems to go to Mr. Roosevelt, but we hope he will play military trumps sparingly.

*

UP TO THE VERY LAST MOMENT AMERICAN liberals hoped that the Mexican government would concede the inhumanity as well as the folly of turning away twenty-one forlorn German and Austrian refugees. Its decision has offended wide areas of American opinion staunchly sympathetic to Mexico, and will be militantly exploited by the Mexican government's professional enemies here; the same voices which have cried "Red Mexico" will not hesitate to invoke anti-fascist sentiment when it is expedient to do so. Nor has the Cárdenas regime offered any plausible defense, if one is conceivable. Instead it has promulgated a weird counterpart to the Nürnberg laws in decreeing that any admissible refugees must be ready—and able—to marry Indian women. If this seems like a curious caricature of Nazi policy, the harsh treatment of the refugees is closer to the real thing. And their fate is an index of Nazi influence in Mexico. While the oil magnates will use this development to clamor for even more stringent American intervention, there is an opposite moral which we have repeatedly cited and which the Roosevelt Administration cannot dodge. State Department pressure has inexorably driven Mexico into closer trade relations with Germany and Italy. To that extent we bear a moral and practical responsibility for the consequences of that rapprochement, of which the refugee episode may be only the first.

*

IT IS GOOD NEWS FOR BOTH THE BUYERS and sellers of books that postal rates on books have been drastically reduced by the President's executive order. The mailing cost on books formerly ranged from 10 to 26 cents depending on the zone. They may now be sent anywhere in the United States for 1½ cents a pound, which brings the cost for the average book down to 3 cents. The order is not final. It will expire on June 30 of next year, and the intervening months will be considered a trial period, but it is confidently expected that the book business of the Post Office will be so greatly increased that the order will be made permanent.

*

FIRST NEWS OF THE INJUNCTION HANDED down by Judge William Clark of the United States Circuit Court in Newark against Mayor Hague indicates, as we go to press, that the C. I. O. has won a real victory. The terms of the decree seem to go beyond the narrow terms of the opinion and eliminate entirely the obnoxious censorship proposal which caused so much protest and concern. As far back as last May the officials of Jersey City were discussing the idea of a municipal board to censor public speeches. Their demand for the right to censor, encouraged by the dictum in the Clark opinion, was renewed in argument over the terms of the proposed decree. We commend Judge Clark for omitting the censorship provision and hope that he will expunge the offensive passage in preparing his opinion for official publication. So dangerous and unconstitutional a suggestion should not be permitted to stand. If his decree is enforced, and enforcement is in the hands of Judge Clark, Norman Thomas should finally be able to speak in Jersey City unmolested, and the organizers of the C. I. O. should be able to go about their tasks without interference. We shall comment at greater length on the situation in Jersey City as soon as the full text of the decree is available. In the meantime we congratulate Morris Ernst and his associates on a splendid victory in the cause of civil liberties.

*

THE DEATH OF CHARNEY VLADECK BROUGHT a response from New York's East Side public that showed how widespread was the trust and affection with which he was known; some half-million people filled the streets through which his funeral procession passed. More than editorials in the metropolitan press or tributes from famous men and women, this mass impulse of sorrow would have moved him if he could have known of it. For Charney Vladeck was not only the good Amer-

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ican, the humanitarian, the immigrant who rose to the management of a great newspaper and became the minority leader of the New York City Council. Above all else he was a Socialist. He suffered for his Socialist faith in Russia under the Czar and he worked for it in America. It was not until he was appointed to the New York City Housing Authority in the later years of his life that he was able to translate some of his social beliefs into action. In the meetings of the Authority he was at his best—master of intricate facts, shrewd, full of warm understanding for the men and women of the slums, and with it all invincibly humorous. Publicly and privately, Charney Vladeck will be terribly missed.

Asia for the Asiatics

AFTER many months of meaningless prattle about dissuading China from its anti-Japanese attitude and freeing Asia from "Communist" influence, the Japanese government has at last shown its hand. No longer does it even suggest that Japan is in China to uphold its treaty rights. On the contrary, it has openly announced its defiance of the basic treaty covering Far Eastern relations. The Open Door, slammed shut some months ago in the territories under Japanese military control, is now to be officially bolted against the Western nations. Japan has also refused to accept responsibility for the damage done to the property of Western powers as a result of the present warfare in China.

No change in policy is represented by Tokyo's recent statements. Secretary Hull's note of October 6 carefully enumerated the ways in which the Japanese military and puppet governments in the occupied areas have for months been systematically squeezing out foreign interests. These include changes in the tariff schedule, exchange control, censorship of mail and telegrams, restrictions on freedom of residence and travel by foreign nationals, and the establishment of Japanese monopolistic companies. What is new is Japan's attempt to bend legality to cover its tactics. This is a direct consequence of Munich. Japan has assumed, perhaps correctly, that Munich spelled the end of all resistance by the democratic states to aggression. It no longer sees any need for pretense. If the Nine-Power Treaty and other international agreements block exploitation of the conquered territories, the agreements must be scrapped.

In defense of their demand for freedom from existing legal obligations, Japanese spokesmen frequently declare that all they ask is a Monroe Doctrine for Asia. To persons unfamiliar with the realities of Japan's activities in China the statement may seem to have a degree of plausibility. Actually, no parallel exists. The Monroe Doctrine involves a responsibility to defend the soil of the Americas against foreign invasion. To use this doctrine as a pretext for conquering and ruling and monopolizing the economic opportunities of a continent is even more far-fetched than most Japanese arguments.

The situation as it exists at this moment can be summed up very briefly. Japan has called the bluff of the United States and the Western powers. It has flatly denied that the West has any concern, either economic or humanitarian, in the fate of China and its four hundred million inhabitants. Mr. Hull hinted at the possibility of reprisals if Japan continued to discriminate against American nationals. The United States is now in a position where it must make good this implicit threat or, like Britain and France, bow to the superior "nerves" of a bandit power. Just what type of action Mr. Hull had in mind when he sent his note to Japan is not clear. Section 30 of the amended Tariff Act gives the President power to withhold the benefits of the reciprocal trade pacts in case a country discriminates against American trade. But such action would mean little to Japan. Less than 2 per cent of its exports to this country benefit from our trade agreements with other powers. Moreover, such a retaliatory measure could not be taken until the 1911 commercial treaty with Japan had been denounced, an act which requires six months' advance notice.

Much more effective and practical is the action which *The Nation* has consistently advocated—the stopping of American assistance to the country which is threatening American commercial, educational, and missionary interests in China, and which has as its immediate aim the enslavement of the Chinese people. The argument for legislative measures cutting off financial and commercial relations with Japan is stronger today than ever. In order to consolidate its power on the Asiatic continent, Japan will require a tremendous amount of new equipment. It counts on getting the bulk of this from the United States. If the flow of supplies can be stopped, the problem of getting Japan out of China can be left to the Chinese.

Larceny in the Stock Exchange

THE Securities and Exchange Commission and its trial examiner, Samuel O. Clark, are to be commended on the thorough job they have done in investigating the Whitney scandal. The previous inquiries, by Attorney General Bennett and by District Attorney Dewey, sent Richard Whitney to jail but did not probe far enough. The District Attorney convicted Whitney, but the SEC convicts the Stock Exchange. Mr. Clark's report shows it guilty of operating what should be a public institution on a code of ethics better suited to a rich man's club. The SEC found that Whitney misappropriated the securities of a customer as far back as March, 1926. At that time he was a member of the

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Exchange Committee on Business Conduct. His criminal acts continued without hampering his career, for in the twelve years before he was sent to jail he served as chairman of the Committee on Business Conduct, and later as vice-president and president of the Exchange.

The peculiar honor that exists among gentlemen explains Whitney's ability to carry on for so long the minor peculations that are no part of the normal business of the Exchange. Occasional misappropriations became "his regular practice" after 1936. His financial affairs, ever more frenzied, reached a climax in the four hectic months before his failure, when he negotiated 111 loans, totaling $27,000,000, of which $6,500,000 remained unpaid. Whitney's maneuvers were a matter of common gossip in the Exchange, and at least as early as November, 1937, two persons knew and two others had reason to suspect that Whitney had taken securities from the Gratuity Fund, of which he was trustee. Those who should have suspected but did not investigate were E. H. H. Simmons, a cotrustee of the fund, and Roland L. Redmond, counsel of the Exchange. Those who knew but did not tell were George Whitney and his partner in J. P. Morgan and Company, Thomas W. Lamont. One can sympathize with George Whitney's silence, but one must condemn Lamont's. "A stubborn indifference to the public responsibility of the Exchange as a basic characteristic of the old order of Exchange thinking," the SEC decided, "stands darkly revealed in the testimony of Thomas W. Lamont." Simmons spoke to George Whitney of the securities his brother had failed to return. "Mr. Simmons learned that Richard Whitney had required financial assistance from his brother to enable him to make delivery." "George Whitney and Thomas W. Lamont . . . knew that Richard Whitney had engaged in criminal conduct." Neither told. Under other circumstances the personal loyalty felt toward a partner might partially excuse Lamont's attitude, but the power wielded by a leading partner in J. P. Morgan and Company entails an equivalent responsibility. It would be shutting one's eyes to the hypnotic effect exercised by the House of Morgan over the financial community not to recognize that neither Simmons nor Redmond would dare act against its implied wish. The SEC is right in concluding that the ethical attitude revealed, emanating from the very center of American finance, must have a bad influence on the morals of the entire business community.

A word of warning is necessary.

The ballyhoo attending the new plan of Exchange regulation is deceptive. The Whitney case was a case of felony, and the new rules resulting from the SEC's inquiry will make felony more difficult. They will protect the public from losses in Stock Exchange firm failures, a rare occurrence in recent years. They provide certain elementary precautions, such as independent audits of firms doing business with the public and segregation of the capital used in brokerage from that used in speculation. They provide reporting and restriction of loans between the gentlemen of the Stock Exchange, and they forbid an officer of the Exchange to sit in judgment on a member to whom he is indebted, a rule that should hardly have required a Whitney scandal for its formulation. A central-trust institution may also be set up to hold customer securities and protect brokers from the temptation of "borrowing" them. But larceny is a minor problem. Effective action is still to be taken on the major problems created by the conflicting interests of men who act at one and the same time as brokers, underwriters, and speculators. The report's reference to "the old order of Exchange thinking" is premature. The path of reform is strewn with the bleached bones of past optimism, and the SEC would be well advised to be a little more restrained in its enthusiasm.

Brave New World

THE outlines of the post-Munich world take shape under our eyes. Central Europe is rebuilt at Vienna, Japan proclaims its Asiatic empire before it wins it, and in the Near East a local Arab revolt in Palestine shows unmistakable signs of becoming a full-dress pan-Arab war. African colonies are put on the counter for Nazi inspection, amid some haggling on the part of the present owners and trustees. Chamberlain seals the conquest of Ethiopia with the blood of Spain, and Parliament ratifies the deal by an easy majority. The French Radical Socialist Party supports overwhelmingly Daladier's scrap-of-paper policy abroad and rule-by-decree at home. The brave new world is not yet ready for the map-makers, but people are beginning to adjust themselves to the job of surviving within its still fluid boundaries. Half-unnoticed the process of accommodation goes on.

The major changes are discussed more fully elsewhere in this issue. Below we cite others, minor in themselves, but similar in their origin and equally significant as indications of the present boundaries of totalitarian advance.

The League of Nations was sadly repudiated at Marseille by one of its founders and most devoted partisans, Edouard Herriot; but several days earlier the League made a feeble bid for existence by dismissing "for reasons of economy" Marcel Hoden, Chief of Cabinet to M. Avenol, the Secretary General. M. Hoden had been with the League since 1919, and had believed to the end that it should fulfil the obligations of the Covenant. The liquidation of M. Hoden was hopefully designed to pave the way for the return of Italy and Germany.

In Memel, after sudden agitation for "autonomy" by

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its German inhabitants, martial law was lifted at the demand of the German Minister, and the Lithuanian government was warned to quit quibbling and raising legalistic objections lest it find itself in the pre-Munich role of the Czechoslovak government.

Among the various accords signed by Germany and Czechoslovakia to regularize their new relationship is a railway agreement wiping out duty, passport, and currency restrictions on two lines running through Czech territory. As a result of this friendly arrangement, Hitler has achieved one of the important goals he aimed at in the Godesberg demands—corridors through Czechoslovakia connecting Silesia and Austria.

The new government of Slovakia has announced that "Mein Kampf" and five Nazi dailies published in Germany, hitherto proscribed in its territory, may be sold and circulated freely. It has suppressed the Masonic lodges and declared their property confiscated; known Masons are to be under the constant surveillance of the police. Like the Czech government, the Slovaks have prohibited the Communist Party. The Czech Social Democratic Party has affirmed its intention of seceding from the Second International.

Even in the neutral countries the peace of Munich finds its victims. A large Copenhagen daily recently published an article by its foreign editor which quoted a British M. P.'s description of "Nazi atrocities" in the Sudeten districts. Next day the same journal apologized for repeating the "absolutely incredible" statement and dismissed its foreign editor. Reports of press censorship to avoid annoying the Reich have come from all the Scandinavian countries.

The rejection of a handful of Jewish refugees by the Mexican government, discussed on another page, is one more item in the ledger of democratic losses.

Both the appointment of the Duke of Kent as Governor General of Australia and no less certainly the projected visit of the King and Queen to Canada are clear echoes of Munich. Equally so, in a minor key, is the canceling of a speaking trip in the United States by the pro-Loyalist Dean of Canterbury—"on advice . . . that it was inadvisable for a Briton to talk to Americans about Spain at the present time."

More remote but no less direct were Japan's threats to take "action" if necessary to prevent arms from going into China through French Indo-China and the hasty assurance by France that no arms had ever been sent. Apparently it has become a crime, since Munich, for a democratic power to allow supplies to go to democratic China, to the detriment of the new Japanese empire.

Such items as are gathered here, apparently unrelated, take on meaning when considered together. From week to week they should be noted and pondered by persons who hope to stave off similar processes of accommodation to fascism in our still relatively detached hemisphere.

Panic from Mars

THE mass hysteria that broke loose on the night of October 30 when Orson Welles broadcast H. G. Wells's "War of the Worlds" with variations is almost as disturbing to any thoughtful person as the attack of the Martians was terrifying to those who took it literally. By now the editorial writers and the columnists have listed all its more obvious causes: the psychological carry-over from the days and nights of the European crisis, when the listening mass was in a constant state of excitement at the incredible happenings in Berchtesgaden, Godesberg, and Munich which turned out to be real; the compulsive force of the human voice issuing from the upper air; the mass attitude toward the wonder workings of science, which has become quite as credulous as that of the Dark Ages toward religious miracles.

These are the main immediate causes, but all of them stem from a deeper source—the sea of insecurity and actual ignorance over which a superficial literacy and sophistication are spread like a thin crust. In a world where everyone knows the latest news and few understand its meaning, it is perhaps not surprising that the broadcast of an imaginary catastrophe only a little more fantastic than some of the major events of the past few months should have caused this undertide of conscious and subconscious fear to burst forth in all its foolish and pathetic and terrifying manifestations.

These manifestations, too, have been thoroughly exploited by the press, and they were not confined to the uninitiated. One Southern newspaper summoned its staff to get out an extra; it is reliably reported that an N. B. C. executive, inadvertently turning in on a C. B. S. station, nearly fainted at the thought that his own system had been scooped on a story so colossal that neither system could exist long enough to relate it.

It is easy to point out that if casual listeners casually turning the dial—and their name seems to be legion—had stopped to think they would have discovered their error at least within a few minutes. The fact that they did not is what makes the mass flight from mythical monsters not merely a funny story but a significant social phenomenon.

One of the dangerous results of the whole occurrence was the automatic suggestion of radio censorship, but fortunately the FCC shows no signs of taking the proposal seriously. For the rest, it provided a new insight into the power of radio. The disembodied voice has a far greater force than the printed word, as Hitler has discovered. If the Martian incident serves as even a slight inoculation against our next demagogue's appeal for a red hunt or an anti-Semitic drive it will have had its constructive effect.

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Behind the Dies Intrigue

BY PAUL Y. ANDERSON

Washington, November 7

GARBAGE disposal is not a pretty job, but public sanitation and health demand it. For the same reason I am compelled to devote some more time and effort to the Dies committee, with especial attention to the activities of its chairman. Since the task does not require a delicate approach, I shall be direct.

Certain sinister facts have now emerged from the fog of perjury and camp-meeting oratory in which this committee functions. These facts are: (1) Witnesses were brought from Minnesota to Washington pursuant to an arrangement made secretly in Detroit between Dies and a Minnesota Republican politician. Their testimony, the nature of which was known to Dies in advance, was designed and directed to discredit Governor Elmer Benson and the Farmer-Labor Party, and thus help bring about the election of Harold Stassen, the Republican nominee. (2) Harper Knowles, who testified that Culbert Olson and Sheridan Downey, Democratic nominees for Governor and Senator in California, are Communist sympathizers, is himself secretary of the Associated Farmers, a vigilante outfit headed by Philip Bancroft, the Republican nominee for Senator from that state. Both Dies and Knowles attempted to deceive the public and the press by stating that Knowles was appearing in behalf of the American Legion. After Knowles was repudiated by the California commander of the Legion, Dies made no effort to disclose who had sponsored and financed Knowles's appearance. A typewritten copy of Knowles's "testimony" was in Dies's possession before it was delivered. (3) One witness who was permitted to testify at great length and without cross-examination on the activities of "Communists" and "Communist sympathizers" had been described in an affidavit to the Labor Department as a fascist organizer. A copy of this affidavit was placed in Dies's hands before the witness took the stand, but he failed to mention it, although he had relied in part upon an affidavit by the same man in demanding the deportation of Harry Bridges.

By the time the foregoing appears, the elections will have passed into history, and the despicable stratagems I have described will have succeeded or failed, as the case may be. However, the public may at least have some understanding of what was behind this bogus "investigation of un-American activities."

So far as I know, the first information received by the public concerning the Minnesota intrigue was contained in a broadcast which I delivered over a state-wide network Wednesday night; hence the facts will bear repetition here. Six witnesses from Minnesota appeared before the Dies committee. Superintending their appearance was Mark Gehan, former Republican Mayor of St. Paul, now attorney for an employers' organization known as the "Committee on Industrial Relations." George Gehan, his brother, is one of Stassen's campaign managers. Principal witness among the six was Steve Gadler, who "testified" from a bulky manuscript. The essence of all the testimony was that Communists had gained control of the Farmer-Labor Party through the "Trojan-horse policy" of capturing strategic posts, and that Governor Benson was a Communist "tool." During a recess newspapermen covering the hearing asked Gehan for a copy of Gadler's testimony. He replied: "The only corrected copy is the one he used on the stand. We had to correct it on the train coming down. *I only got hold of Dies a few days ago when he was in Detroit, and he only had six subpoenas. If he had more subpoenas we could have got him enough witnesses to keep this stuff going for several days.*"

It was the reporters' understanding from the conversation that the subpoenas were blank when Dies turned them over to Gehan. When Gehan's statement was repeated to Dies he declared that he had not seen Gehan in Detroit and had not talked with him about the testimony. Take your choice. When the House gets around to inquiring into the misuse of its power by the Dies committee, it should not fail to inquire into the circumstances surrounding the service of those subpoenas. Before that time arrives, the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee may save the House some trouble by exposing the activities of the Associated Farmers, and the relations between that organization and Fascist and Nazi propagandists. Then, and not before, we may learn about the un-American activities which constitute a real threat to this country's institutions. How illuminating it would be to discover that persons engaged in those activities have been using the Dies committee as a loudspeaker for their propaganda!

In the last issue I alluded briefly to the gallant Texan's efforts to prevent me from following him on the air last Monday night. Those frantic maneuvers succeeded only in focusing public attention on the fact that Dies claimed a right to broadcast an attack on his critics, but insisted that it was "un-American" to permit one of them to answer him. Intimidation having failed, the next step was attempted reprisal. Somewhat brighter, if

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not braver, than his lame-duck colleague in Ohio, Dies succeeded in having Representative Harold Mosier issue a statement in Cleveland attacking my private character and professional reputation. Most of the statement was so palpably libelous that editors promptly killed it. In a way, that is too bad, for I am advised by competent lawyers that if one or two solvent newspapers had printed it, I would have been enabled to live in comparative luxury for the rest of my days without the necessity of working. That portion of the statement which some papers did print is sufficient to characterize both Dies and Mosier. Several years ago while recuperating in the Johns Hopkins Hospital from a nervous breakdown, I sought to while the time away by composing some light prose for *The Nation,* in the course of which I jocosely declared that I had acted upon the suggestion of friends in submitting myself for observation. Mosier ripped this sentence from its context and presented it as serious evidence bearing on my "reputation"—the obvious implication being that my sanity had been in question! As a matter of fact, I am advised that his use of the sentence was clearly libelous, and the matter is still under consideration, although I am inclined to abide by Uncle Joe Cannon's famous admonition which was, roughly: "Never get into any kind of a contest with a mosier."

Since, however, the loaded dies and the striped mosiers have questioned my personal and professional reputation, and have sought to portray me as a radical stooge for the White House, I may be pardoned for quoting the following telegram which appeared on the front page of the St. Louis *Star-Times* on March 1, last: "I am informed that my friend, Paul Y. Anderson, will become a member of the Washington staff of the *Star-Times*. May I not congratulate you on securing the services of this brilliant newspaper correspondent? (*Signed*) John N. Garner." A trifle florid, no doubt—but let Dies do the blushing for once.

Mr. Hearst in Eclipse

BY FERDINAND LUNDBERG

SOMETHING resembling a recurrent earthquake accompanied by roaring hurricanes and severe electrical storms has been shaking the Hearst newspaper and magazine empire from top to bottom for a year and a half, and both the corporate structure of the Hearst enterprises and their editorial policies have in consequence undergone significant changes. With respect to the editorial policies, it would not be quite correct to say that they have been reversed; but, probably because of the extreme pressure exerted on the Hearst circulation and, *pari passu,* on its advertising by the forces of organized labor and the political left, they have been severely modified. This change in the largest publishing organization in the United States represents a triumph, if a qualified one, for an outraged public.

It was immediately after the reelection of President Roosevelt in 1936 that Hearst abruptly stopped branding leading New Dealers and politically unaffiliated liberals as Bolsheviks. With respect to the President, Hearst personally executed an about-face as soon as the election returns had been counted, declaring that Franklin D. Roosevelt was perhaps a second Andrew Jackson, destined to lead democracy ahead to new victories. It is a far cry from the Kremlin to the Hermitage, but Hearst negotiated the distance with acrobatic nonchalance.

As time went on and the fortunes of Hearst failed to improve, it was apparently decided by his private brain trust that the situation required something more positive than liquidation of an editorial policy of unjustified and misleading invective. Recently, various national samplings of public sentiment having shown that President Roosevelt retains the confidence of a good majority despite the continued onslaughts of the nation's press, Hearst and his writers have been sounding more and more like New Dealers, without actually giving the New Deal a complete bill of health. Perhaps this modified attitude only conceals the attempt of an unregenerate Liberty Leaguer to bore from within now that frontal attacks have collapsed; time alone will tell.

Editor and Publisher of July 9, 1938, contained the most astonishing statement made by Hearst since he first coupled the names of Roosevelt and Jackson. He said:

> I think President Roosevelt's declared determination to cooperate with business has done more to create the business optimism and business activity which now obviously exists than even the inflationary program, valuable and necessary as that is. The combination of the two is dynamic. I believe we are headed for good times. . . . I think the President's program, if conscientiously carried out, should be conscientiously supported for the public welfare. . . .

Another new note was sounded in all the Hearst Sunday newspapers of July 31, 1938, in an editorial entitled The American Race, part of which ran as follows:

> The endeavor of Mr. Hitler and—trailing after him—Mr. Mussolini to make the world safe for the Aryan

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race is as futile but not as creditable as America's attempt to make the world safe for democracy.

If the Aryan race cannot take care of itself in competition with other races, then it is an INFERIOR [capitals by Hearst] race, and should not be preserved.

Believing that Hearst was in various ways giving sly encouragement to racial animosities as well as to fascism, many persons, not radicals, have in recent years become disgusted with his publications, and some of these persons have undoubtedly been in a position to influence the disposal of advertising. In the large cities where he owns newspapers many foreign-born or politically heterodox citizens have unquestionably stopped reading his publications and have prevailed on friends to do likewise. More than one sound editorial in the traditional American spirit of tolerance will be required if Hearst is to undo what several years of innuendo and bold assertion have done.

It may be doubted that business conditions had become as roseate as Hearst painted them in the previously cited *Editor and Publisher* statement. In the newspaper business circulation and advertising lineage were sharply below the 1937 figures, and in most divisions of industry the lowest levels of activity since 1933 had been reached. In expressing optimism Hearst was perhaps only reverting to the traditional American business blarney, almost forgotten since business leaders under the New Deal have taken to selling America short with passionate gusto. Though at long last Hearst was talking bullishly, affairs in his own companies were pursuing a perceptibly bearish course. And here, perhaps, lies the key to the new liberal tone of some of his ukases.

The trend of events within the Hearst organization was clearly indicated when on June 15, 1938, the dividend due on the preferred stock of Hearst Consolidated Publications with a par value of $48,000,000 was omitted. This stock had been sold in a national door-to-door campaign from 1930 through 1935 by means of glowing representations. To miss a dividend on such a large issue of preference shares so soon after its flotation was, to say the least, unusual. The net income of Hearst Consolidated for 1937 showed a slight decline compared with 1936—$5,746,209 against $6,197,663—but nothing like what the decline in 1938 income from the 1937 figure will apparently be. The company's announcement when the dividend was omitted said that net earnings for the first five months of 1938 were only about $600,000 to $700,000, compared with $2,644,000 for the first four and three-quarter months of 1937, a drop of 75 per cent and greater by far than any other year's decline in Hearst earnings since 1929. Advertising sales of Hearst Consolidated for the first four months of 1938, the company said, stood at only $11,927,000, as compared with $15,251,000 for the parallel period of 1937. Although the company's statement blamed it all on business conditions, some of the severe reduction in 1938 income may possibly reflect the inauguration of more conservative accounting methods, with more generous provisions for depreciation and reserves. Earnings are affected, too, by the need to meet interest and principal maturities on floating debt.

With the omission of preferred dividends, the dividends on common stock held by Hearst Corporation (which is controlled by American Newspapers, Inc.) for the account of William Randolph Hearst were automatically terminated—undoubtedly a severe personal blow to Hearst—and the common dividends may not be resumed until preferred arrears have been paid. In 1937, the company said, no dividends were paid on the common, which previously had been taking $1½ to $3½ million annually. Nearly $3½ million a year has been paid on the preferred.

Before the 1929 crash the company's constituent parts had harvested net earnings of more than $12,000,000 a year. By dint of savage reductions in editorial and administrative salaries the net income was held above $6,000,000 until 1937. It was not until the present year that the dike showed signs of cracking.

Nearly all newspapers have been under heavy pressure this year, losing circulation and advertising lineage as newsprint prices have been advanced, and as determined opposition to further wage reductions and deterioration of working conditions has developed from editorial and commercial employees organized in the American Newspaper Guild. But, as has been indicated above, the pressure on the Hearst organization has been considerably greater than that on other large newspaper enterprises owing to the antagonism aroused in extensive social groups by its provocative policies during the long period before its recent shift. The effects of this pressure have been manifested in a number of ways.

First, whole units of the Hearst enterprises have been jettisoned to meet maturing obligations and to enable the parent organization to reach the profit line again. The New York *American* (morning), the Omaha *Bee-News,* and the Rochester *Journal-American* (evening and Sunday) have been discontinued; Hearst's half-interest in the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* was sold to Paul Block for $2,750,000 in the fall of 1937; the Milwaukee *Sentinel,* leased by Hearst to Block for a number of years, was released by Block, to be merged with Hearst's *Wisconsin News,* the property becoming the Milwaukee *News-Sentinel.* In short, four Hearst dailies have been swept out of existence and a half-interest in another has been relinquished.

For some years Eleanor Medill Patterson, a sister of Joseph Medill Patterson, publisher of the New York *Daily News,* was Hearst's editor and publisher of the Washington *Herald.* In April of last year this publication

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was leased to Mrs. Patterson for ten years; in July, 1937, Hearst's Washington *Times* was turned over to her on lease for five years. This could only mean that Hearst was withdrawing from an active role in the Washington arena.

A consistent pattern discloses itself in these transactions, for none of these properties was a constituent of Hearst Consolidated Publications; each was owned by Hearst directly, by American Newspapers, Inc., or by Hearst Corporation. If we regard the two leased papers as divorced from the Hearst system, we find that Hearst's newspaper holdings have been reduced from twenty-six and one-half to twenty-one, and of these twenty-one the fourteen leaders are included, along with *American Weekly,* in Hearst Consolidated Publications, which is the core of Hearst's publishing empire. The daily circulation of this group is about 2,500,000. The daily circulation of all the Hearst newspapers, the largest group in the country, is given as 4,000,000, comparing with a daily circulation of about 2,000,000 for the Scripps-Howard chain. In addition, several of Hearst's radio properties have been sold, and others are rumored to be for sale.

William Randolph Hearst

Units of Hearst Consolidated have figured in various operations designed to increase revenues or to effect economies. The price of the Los Angeles *Herald and Express* has been raised to 5 cents, and if the innovation succeeds it is believed other Hearst papers will follow suit. Advertising rates have been reduced experimentally in other quarters. The New York *Evening Journal-American,* for example, lowered its daily national rates in July from $1.25 to $1 a line, its Sunday rates from $1.50 to $1.25. The *American Weekly,* hitherto distributed exclusively with Hearst papers, is now offered for sale to other papers. The International News Service and Universal Service, constituents of the profitable King Features Syndicate, have been merged to effect operating economies.

Sweeping changes within the Hearst organization have become so confusing to its workers that the American Newspaper Guild is holding a national conference this week to discuss the matter. From the beginning Hearst has been an implacable foe of the Guild, which nevertheless has now something like a dozen contracts with Hearst papers. The Guild's efforts have been somewhat impeded by the intervention of a newly formed A. F. of L. editorial workers' union, recognized by Hearst in Boston and Los Angeles, but it has left Hearst badly shaken in Milwaukee and Seattle as a result of major strikes and has elsewhere exacted dismissal indemnities running into hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Perhaps the most dramatic development in the Hearst organization during the past year was Hearst's surrender of the control of his properties. The sequence of events that led up to this extraordinary step was as follows:

In September, 1937, Hearst withdrew public-financing applications from the Securities and Exchange Commission for the issuance of $35,500,000 of debentures—$22,500,000 for Hearst Publications, Inc., a subsidiary of Hearst Consolidated, and $13,000,000 for Hearst Magazines, Inc. Bad market conditions were given as the reason for the withdrawal, but the proposed issues, it must be pointed out, had been under attack from radical and liberal publicists and accountants, who through representatives had filed with the SEC objections and demands for more clarifying data.

In October, after much secret discussion, Clarence J. Shearn, Hearst's general counsel from 1896 to 1916 and his closest political adviser until 1920, was appointed sole voting trustee of all the Hearst properties, with Hearst giving up for ten years the right to vote his controlling stock in American Newspapers, Inc. The Chase National Bank, reported in Wall Street to be a leading Hearst creditor, was named registrar for the voting-trust certificates. As rumors multiplied in Wall Street, it was finally openly announced in March, 1938, that Hearst had stepped aside in favor of his one-time employee. Because copies of the voting-trust agreement are not available, little can be said about it, but some inferences may be drawn from the bare announcement, which stated that Hearst had given up control because he had become "conscious of the uncertainties of life." Hearst is seventy-five years old and his physical powers are doubtless not at their maximum, but he has five sons, one of whom holds a place on the executive board. His infirmity, if such it was, was surely no reason for taking control away from the family.

At any rate, Mr. Shearn, who is, incidentally, only six years Hearst's junior, is now officially the king-pin of the Hearst organization. But unless the banks have confidentially surrendered their rights to call their heavy loans—which is not likely—he is no dictator. When Shearn took over, the banks apparently agreed to a creditors' "standstill," giving Hearst a breathing spell. In the announcement of the trusteeship it was carefully indicated that Hearst would continue to control editorial policies, but such policies as a rule are controlled by whoever holds the purse-strings. If Hearst still molds the policies of his newspapers while an independent trustee votes his stock and the banks watch the cash register, he

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must surely be looked upon as a historical novelty.

The reintroduction of Shearn into Hearst's affairs was not without ironic flavor. For it was not until after the split in 1920 between Hearst and the astute lawyer, who as counsel for the New York City Transit Commission fought Mayor John F. Hylan of New York in defiance of Hearst's wishes, that Hearst's personal affairs moved into turbulent waters. This may have been coincidence, but some observers believe that, lacking Shearn's guiding brain, Hearst entangled himself in a situation that in a time of economic crisis was bound to squeeze him. It was not until after the rupture with Shearn that the romantic Hearst, approaching sixty, began building his extravagant California palaces—at San Simeon, at Wyntoon, and at Santa Monica—and started buying art works and castles abroad like a man possessed. The cost of Hearst's personal acquisitions since 1920 must have exceeded $50,000,000, a sum withdrawn from his properties.

Shearn is now trying to bring order into a situation created by a combination of Hearst's personal expenditures, the economic crisis of 1920-38, more rigid tax laws, and the public ill-will aroused by Hearst's fierce opposition in later years to economic and social reforms. He is resorting to heroic measures, as the exposition up to this point should indicate. He has by no means stopped with the transactions already mentioned, and at this point we find another pattern of reorganization: personally owned non-income-producing properties and personally owned unprofitable business properties are being shorn off. Early this year, for example, it was announced that two-thirds of Hearst's vast art collection—acquired at a reported cost of $30 to $40 million, most of it stored in a New York warehouse and all of it held by American Newspapers, Inc.—would be dumped on the market; an entire building has since been leased to display these wares. Not long before this step was taken, Hearst's collection of old silver was sold in London.

A determined effort is being made to untangle Hearst's metropolitan realty holdings. Last April it was announced that Hearst had surrendered his equity in the forty-one-story Ritz Tower in New York in favor of holders of $2,634,000 of mortgage bonds. Inquiry discloses, however, that the title has not been transferred to bondholders, although rents have been assigned to them through the Continental Bank and Trust Company. In June the Hotel Devon in New York, assessed valuation $545,000, was sold by American Newspapers, Inc.

Maturing bonds and mortgages on the newspaper and magazine plants have confronted Hearst with knotty problems. Early this year $1,000,000 of maturing debentures of Hearst Magazines, Inc., were paid off. In 1937 Hearst Consolidated had to meet $4,453,800 of subsidiary-company bond and mortgage maturities, and in 1938 it has to meet $2,649,700 of maturities as well as $2,452,732 of bank loans. How the situation stands on the other properties does not appear on the record. As various properties are freed of encumbrances they are being repledged. Hearst Magazines Building was mortgaged this year for $1,000,000 at 4½ per cent to the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and the Hearst Publications Building, on South Street, New York, was mortgaged for $500,000 at 5 per cent to the Equitable Life Assurance Society. Both mortgages run for ten years.

The status of Hearst's holdings in the rich Homestake Mining Company, once a large and controlling share, is not known; but it was noticed last year that for the first time in its long history this high-priced stock was split eight for one, making it more accessible to small investors. A split-up like this is often arranged by corporations when some large stockholder wishes to distribute all or part of his shares. Looking even farther afield, one perceives trouble on Hearst's big Mexican ranch. On October 3, the Mexico City *Official Gazette* carried President Cárdenas's final decree expropriating 17,980 acres of land belonging to Hearst in the state of Chihuahua.

Hearst, in short, is going through the deflationary wringer, but it is not to be doubted that under Mr. Shearn's direction the principal publishing companies will be placed in a sounder position and be able to appeal for new readers with a liberalized editorial policy. Although Hearst Consolidated obtained nearly $50,000,000 not many years ago by selling preferred stock, the money was used simply to acquire notes issued to Hearst in his capacity as controlling stockholder. But as Hearst has personally guaranteed underlying bonds of Hearst Consolidated, which amounted to a little more than $17,000,000 as of December 31, 1937, he may be called upon to return some of this from the proceeds of his art treasures and other sources.

The applications filed last year with the SEC, and the current balance sheets themselves, show the properties to be in need of fresh funds. Hearst Publications, Inc., in its application to the SEC, admitted tremendous write-up in property valuations from 1922 to 1930: "Summarized as to all companies there have been net write-ups of tangible capital assets of $4,490,863.88 and net write-ups of intangible capital assets of $58,261,820.44." The total write-up by the Hearst companies was, then, $62,752,684.32. And it was against this write-up that Hearst sold the preferred stock now in arrears. Most of Hearst's bonds and mortgages were also issued after 1922.

For a number of years, off and on, the Hearst balance sheets have indicated a shortage of working capital, which is the excess of current assets over current liabilities. The renovation under the Shearn regime has already wrought such improvement that the balance sheet of Hearst Consolidated for December 31, 1937, shows working capital of $1,525,409, compared with a working-capital deficiency of $2,897,357 the year before. How-

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ever, the underlying Hearst Publications had a working-capital deficiency of $902,406 at the end of 1937 (figures from Poor's "Industrial Manual" for 1938).

One of the unusual things about the Hearst companies is that they include relatively little tangible property in proportion to total claimed assets. Hearst Consolidated, for example, has total assets of $128,021,266, according to its balance sheet, but of this only $27,022,237 consists of land, buildings, machinery, and equipment, while the huge sum of $83,847,912 covers a good-will item of "circulation, press franchises, libraries, etc." This latter item is capitalized in the preferred and common stocks and seems to be the main theoretical source of earnings for these issues.

In Hearst's plight there is surely a lesson for his publisher colleagues, who might learn from him that press freedom cannot be retained by continually flouting public opinion and running to the banks for support. This sort of policy, as the case of Hearst shows, can lead only to weakened public support and to liquidation and evaporation of properties. Hearst has not lacked gilt-edged bank support—at the end of 1937 notes payable of Hearst Consolidated and Hearst Magazines stood at $6,234,734 even after considerable reduction—but the banks have not, publishers should notice, saved Hearst from the grand squeeze. Publishers might also take warning from Hearst not to regard mere reform as bolshevism, to be fought down to the last bank loan. Hearst finds himself in his present unenviable position because he tried to derail the speeding locomotive of history by interposing his own bulk. Nobody was injured in the collision but Hearst.

Why Germany Feared War

BY LOUIS FISCHER

Paris, October 21

THEY say they saved peace. They certainly saved fascism. But they only saved peace if a European war was imminent, and there is no proof of that.

Germany was not prepared to wage a major war. Hitler's army and navy leaders told him so, and he knew it to be true. When the summer maneuvers began, British correspondents in Germany reported that the increased requirements of the army had caused a food scarcity in Berlin. On October 7 the Munich representative of the London *Daily Telegraph* wired: "The movement of troops in the occupied [Sudeten] areas is being hampered by shortage of motor transport, and for the same reason the civilian population in many of the garrison towns of the Reich and in some of the occupied areas is experiencing a real food famine." If these were the results of peace-time maneuvers and of a seven-day, unopposed military operation, what would have been the effect of several months of war?

The German people stood in dread of war. Minister of Propaganda Goebbels referred on October 11 to "certain intellectuals" who had had "bad nerves" during the weeks of the crisis. Subterranean anti-war propaganda worried the authorities. Thus on September 1 *Das Schwarze Korps*, organ of the S. S. (guard troops), attacked "dark figures" circulating rumors "which have no other purpose than to create a war psychosis and disturb the people." Attempts were being made, this important periodical stated, to sow fright. "They whisper of hunger, war, and mass deaths."

The same magazine in its issue of September 22 took cognizance of the "shortsighted" opinions of "unpolitical ostriches" who, it declared, asked: "Why just now? Why the hurry? Did we not wait in the case of Austria until the fruit was ripe, and cannot the Sudeten Germans carry on a few years longer until Czechoslovakia falls apart of itself?" These "ostriches" must have been numerous enough for the *Schwarze Korps* to give publicity to their views and try to answer them. "Much more is involved," it explained, "than the Sudetenland." (It was necessary to undermine Western democracy.)

The diplomatic correspondent of the Conservative London *Daily Telegraph*, who accompanied Chamberlain to Munich, telegraphed: "I am profoundly convinced that it would be impossible, even for Herr Hitler, to lead the German people into a general war." Public sentiment and economic conditions would have doomed such an adventure to quick disaster. An anonymous German living in Germany described the state of the German mind in a letter printed in the London *Times* of October 12. "What a week we have gone through," he wrote. "It is impossible to describe our mental suffering. . . . One had no energy left for anything, one ate one's food mechanically, and devoted the whole time to listening to the radio." And the Berlin correspondent of the *News-Chronicle* said: "Horror at the prospect of war was perhaps greater in Germany than in England."

At Nürnberg and later in Berlin Hitler boasted that the Germany of 1938 was not the Germany of 1918. No, nor of 1914. In 1914 the Germans entered the war with full stomachs, normal nerves, vast reserves of raw materials, supplies of gold and foreign currency, a unifying

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patriotism, and a big and willing ally. Last September, when this second war supposedly threatened, Germany's population was undernourished and suffering from severe nervous tension, its raw-material supplies were inadequate even for peace time—substitutes and shoddy were already being used—it had no precious metals or big bank deposits abroad with which to make indispensable purchases, large numbers of its citizens were disaffected for religious or political reasons, and its ally, Italy, was on the verge of bankruptcy, embarrassed by a bad crop, engaged in two wars which had already sapped its limited vitality, and incapable of any enthusiasm for the axis-partner which had so recently appeared menacingly at the Brenner Pass. Nor could the Reichswehr have conducted a large-scale war on several fronts. Aviation alone does not make an army. Czechoslovakia had almost as many trained reserves as Germany. There are legitimate doubts whether, in these circumstances, Hitler ever intended to provoke a European war.

During the last week of the Czech crisis Mussolini spoke publicly of the possibility of a localized war between Prague and Berlin. Hitler envisaged that possibility. He would crush the Czechs with the men called to the colors during the summer maneuvers. Had he expected a larger conflict he would have prepared for it by ordering a general mobilization. Here the succession of events is revealing. On September 23 Czechoslovakia, having decided to reject the Godesberg terms, decreed complete mobilization, and France announced partial mobilization. Germany did not call up reserves to meet this new situation. On September 27 the British government stated officially that if Germany attacked Czechoslovakia, France, Russia, and England would oppose the aggression. On the morning of September 28 the British navy was mobilized. Still Germany did not mobilize. Indeed, the official German News Agency declared on September 28 that "the reports that Germany had demanded by 2 p. m. today a definitive reply from Prague to the German ultimatum are completely unfounded. All assumptions based on these reports—namely, that Germany would take steps to mobilize if after the expiration of this time a satisfactory reply was not received—are likewise invented." This denial that a general mobilization impended showed that Germany was not about to launch a general war.

The same morning, nevertheless, Hitler told Sir Horace Wilson, Chamberlain's personal envoy, that he would mobilize the next day at 2 p. m. This information was never published in Germany. The mobilization was never ordered. Was Hitler bluffing? Hitler had met Chamberlain and understood him; so Chamberlain told Parliament. He had heard Chamberlain's radio speech at 8 p. m. on September 27. The Prime Minister's voice broke several times, and he appeared to be weeping. Hitler did not believe that this man Chamberlain would press the button that would put Great Britain at war. The August maneuvers in Germany, the accelerated construction of Rhineland fortifications, and a few menacing Hitler speeches had brought about Chamberlain's flight to Berchtesgaden and the first British betrayal of Czechoslovakia. At Berchtesgaden Hitler had demanded the acceptance of the principle of self-determination, which was equivalent to the detachment of the Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia. Chamberlain said to the House of Commons on September 28: "He [Hitler] told me afterward [at Godesberg, on September 21] that he never for one moment supposed that I should be able to come back and say that the principle was accepted." Members of Parliament laughed. To answer the charge which he sensed in this laughter, the Prime Minister said: "I do not want honorable members to think that he was deliberately deceiving me." One wonders. But when Chamberlain had swallowed what Hitler himself recognized as a big and bitter pill, Hitler knew he could go farther, and at Godesberg therefore he made still greater demands. These were a "profound shock" to Chamberlain. But Hitler had now taken the measure of the British statesman. If maneuvers and violent harangues could produce the surrender at Berchtesgaden, the prospect of German general mobilization would force the Godesberg terms down Chamberlain's throat. This calculation of Hitler's actually proved correct. For the conditions which shocked Chamberlain at Godesberg were approved with insignificant modifications at Munich. Subsequently the Reichswehr took more territory than Hitler asked at Godesberg. Yet no protest came from London.

When Chamberlain received Sir Horace Wilson's report of Hitler's threat to mobilize, he immediately sent a letter to Hitler, dispatched early in the morning of September 29, saying, ". . . I feel certain that you can get all essentials without war and without delay." The apparent firmness reflected in the statement that the three powers intended to resist aggression and the determination manifested in the naval mobilization evaporated in the face of Hitler's continued show of defiance.

After Chamberlain's letter to Hitler, mobilization was unnecessary. Mussolini and Hitler had had several long telephone conversations that week. On September 29 Mussolini urged Hitler to postpone the threatened mobilization for twenty-four hours. Who knows whether Hitler had not suggested that Mussolini make this proposal? The alleged mobilization, in any event, was with alacrity postponed for one day. When the interval had elapsed, Chamberlain and Daladier were in Munich, and the stage was set for dismembering Czechoslovakia.

During the crisis London dug trenches, Paris extinguished its lights, Prague had "blackouts," France shifted its aircraft to secret airdromes. In Germany none of these precautions were taken. True, artillery was trailed

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demonstratively through the main streets of Berlin, but the civilian population was not asked to participate in measures which would have been necessary in case of war. As the Berlin correspondent of the London *Economist* wrote, "Germany was doing everything possible to foster the belief that she intended to fight the great war which she did not intend to fight."

Hitler had throughout counted on the disinclination of England and France to take vigorous steps against aggressors. He drew a moral from Manchuria, Abyssinia, Spain, and Austria. Prominent Britishers had told him in years past and repeatedly during the crisis that England would not go to war for Czechoslovakia. Some day their letters will be published. How the French government felt was revealed the other day by Léon Jouhaux, the French trade-union leader, when he gave the details of an interview he had had with Daladier. Jouhaux referred to the French-Czech treaty of alliance. Daladier replied, "Yes, we are bound by treaties, but treaties can be interpreted." Jouhaux said, "France does not interpret her signature." They continued to argue until Daladier exclaimed, "Listen, I will let you read a report by General Gamelin," chief of the French General Staff. The Premier opened a drawer, took out the document, and read the first page, which dealt with the military difficulties created for France by the return of the Saar to Germany, the remilitarization of the Rhineland, and the annexation of Austria. Jouhaux recognized the changed conditions. "But read on," he insisted. "What did Gamelin recommend?" Daladier read the General's conclusion: "Despite all these difficulties, it is necessary to intervene." That was the army; but the head of the government wished to "interpret" the treaty, and it is the government, not the army, which makes foreign policy in France.

If Daladier expressed himself freely to Jouhaux, an opponent, he certainly also revealed his views to others. And it would be surprising if Hitler was not informed of Daladier's mood and of similar sentiments entertained by important ministers and party leaders. Many newspapers in France, as in England, argued that the Western powers must not fight to save Czechoslovakia. Hitler therefore played his cards until the very end. Hitler was guided by intelligent instinct. His threat to mobilize put the Anglo-French combination to flight. Information conveyed to him by Ribbentrop had forecast this surrender. His own study of Chamberlain and events gave him courage to dare. On October 11 Goebbels admitted that "the Führer and his advisers pursued a risky policy." But, he said, "nobody can win a lottery if he doesn't buy a ticket." That is the whole story. Hitler gambled on the nervous collapse of his opponents and on the unwillingness of the French and British governments to inconvenience him seriously.

Bruce Lockhart tells this story. A Yugoslav diplomat in conversation with General Göring suggested that German methods might ultimately arouse the ire of the Western powers. "Bah," said Göring, "you have only to bang your fist on the table. The democratic countries then make a few speeches in Parliament, and nothing happens."

Living Philosophies

V. THE CREED OF A SCIENTIFIC HUMANIST

BY LANCELOT HOGBEN

IF I had been asked to give a label to my creed, when I was starting in my profession as a scientific worker, I should have called it socialism. That was twenty years ago. Today I prefer to call it scientific humanism. Scientific humanism is the creed I profess and the profession I practice.

This does not mean that the socialist creed of my adolescence was contrary to the scientific outlook, or that I have renounced it. It means that when I was younger my political left hand did not bother about what my professional right hand was doing. I did not yet realize how the pursuit of science is bound up with the responsibilities of citizenship in a society which has been transformed by scientific knowledge. When I began to do so, I saw that socialism can mean two different ways of using scientific discoveries. During the past fifteen years a succession of disasters to the Socialist movements of Central and Southern Europe has forced a few others to recognize the same confusion of aim.

In pre-war days only Socialists clearly recognized that cyclical depression is an inherent characteristic of competitive industry conducted for private gain. During the period which elapsed between the end of the great war and the beginning of the great depression most of the older generation of political leaders still believed that capitalism has a self-regulating capacity for promoting progress in knowledge and general well-being, except in so far as it is embarrassed by wars and strikes. Meanwhile a new generation had grown accustomed to state control over war industries and large relief schemes for a per-

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manent army of unemployed. In these circumstances all that the Socialists had preached seemed to be vindicated by events. The last generation which believed in laissez faire was passing away, and the success of socialism seemed to be assured.

In Germany and Britain nothing of the sort happened. From the moment when all hope of return to pre-war conditions was definitely abandoned by conservative politicians, the official Socialist parties entered an eclipse which has lasted ever since. How it so happened is a question which admits of many answers. One has now been given. The only things about which all Socialists could agree were now generally accepted. To all but themselves the new situation exposed differences which cut across the sectarian strategies of Social Democrats and Communists, of Stalinists and Trotskyists. While laissez faire was in the ascendant, socialism meant having *some* plan in contradistinction to having none. The collapse of liberalism meant that socialism could no longer survive by asserting the need for planning in the abstract. What Socialists had long forgotten was now clear to their competitors.

From its inception there have been two sorts of socialism, each with a plan of its own. One socialism starts where orthodox free trade leaves off. It embraces or assumes the liberal doctrine that prosperity is measured by the number and variety of salable commodities which the consumer is "free" to purchase. Its chief quarrel with liberalism is that inequalities of spending power and recurrent unemployment restrict the choice of a large section of the population. To remedy this it proposes to redistribute spending power by fixing prices, by restricting income to services, and by statutory limitation of working hours adjusted within the framework of industries under public ownership. In short, it does not criticize the way in which capitalist society uses scientific knowledge. It is primarily a protest against how it distributes its products, and the change at which it aims is primarily a change in the *administrative* machinery of industry. Its success does not entail any radical change in the creative policy of industry. Under a Socialist regime conceived in such terms, industry will continue to produce much the same things as before. As a corollary, the intellectual leadership of socialism will be recruited mainly from lawyers and journalists. The success of socialism so defined demands therefore no far-reaching educational reforms.

The other socialism, that of Robert Owen, of Charles Kingsley, of Edward Carpenter, and of William Morris, began as a protest against the dreary squalor which was effacing the commonwealth of the countryside during the earlier stages of steam power-production. It denounced the worldly wisdom which chose an ever-increasing multiplicity of gewgaws and passive distractions as the goal of cooperative endeavor. In opposition to the liberal doctrine that prosperity consists in being able to choose the greatest variety of goods, it asserted the need to decide whether the dark satanic mills were making things which are good for men to choose. The Utopians—as they are usually called—anticipated scientific humanism because they saw clearly that human needs cannot be assessed in terms of "consumers' choice," and because they saw the hypertrophied metropolitanism of capitalist evolution creating psychological strains for which redistribution of spending power furnishes no sufficient remedy. They did not advocate public ownership of productive machinery because the distribution of spending power was faulty. They strove to promote it because they repudiated the pattern of social life within the framework of production for private gain.

Throughout the period which began with the inspired prose of Owen and ended with the uninspired verse of Morris, steam was still the only source of power for factory production, electrolytic processes of chemical manufacture were in their infancy, and motor transport was unknown. Inescapably a higher level of productivity had been achieved at the price of urban congestion, and no radical departure from the fundamental plan of capitalism could be accomplished without lowering the available potential of leisure and creature comforts. So the term Utopian became a term of abuse. Socialists, wise in the wisdom of the world as it then was, made it their chief business to convince the clerk that the municipal milkman would wake him as punctually as the boy from the shop at the end of the street, or that a nationally owned railway service would get him to the office as early as the company which now owns the trains.

Today scientific knowledge offers us the possibility of a new plan of social living more akin to the Utopia of a William Morris or an Edward Carpenter. Mobile power, aviation, and electrical communications make it possible to distribute population at a high level of productive capacity without the disabilities of cultural isolation. A high potential of leisure and creature comforts no longer demands the beehive pattern of social living. Cooperative organization in the age of hydroelectric power, of light metals, of artificial fertilizers and applied genetics offers us new means of communication both to restore the serenity of small community life and to promote a lively sympathy with folk who live in other lands. Broadcasting has now brought the cultural benefits of travel to the bedside, and scientific horticulture offers us a program of bio-aesthetic planning which may prove more congenial to basic human needs than the spectacle of the Woolworth Building.

Advancing scientific knowledge has already swept away many beliefs which sustained popular aspirations in the formative stages of modern democracy. The providential dispensation which indorsed the same plan of governance

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for church and state, the mythology of the beautiful savage, and metaphysical libertarianism with its hypertrophied insistence on diversity of personal preference do not belong to the century in which we are living. In their place modern science now offers us a *new social contract.* The social contract of scientific humanism is the recognition that the sufficient basis for rational cooperation between citizens is scientific investigation of the common needs of mankind, a scientific inventory of resources available for satisfying them, and a realistic survey of how modern social institutions contribute to or militate against the use of such resources for the satisfaction of fundamental human needs. The new social contract demands a new orientation of educational values and new qualifications for civic responsibilities—the power to shape the future course of events so as to extend the benefits of advancing scientific knowledge for the satisfaction of common human needs, guided by an understanding of the impact of science on human society. This may force us to many conclusions which are not palatable to diehard progressives of the nineteenth-century tradition. Two examples must here suffice to illustrate the failure of liberal and socialist thought to keep abreast with the changing conditions.

The belief that increasing scientific knowledge makes for closer economic interdependence and, what was often stated as a corollary to this, the belief that this interdependence provides a guaranty of world peace were dogmas almost universally held by progressive thinkers in the nineteenth century. This was not unnatural in the first flush of surprise which followed the introduction of steam navigation, transcontinental railways, and oceanic telegraphy. Our own perspective should be different. We need only recall that Chilean saltpeter can now be made out of atmospheric nitrogen, that Cheddar cheese can now be made anywhere, that hospitals are using radio-active sodium prepared from ordinary salt instead of having to import the rare radio-active minerals, that the Channel Islands are no longer regarded as a sufficient guaranty of the genetic credentials of cattle, that we may soon be making most of our machinery of aluminum from the clay of our soils, that we are already beginning to feed our pigs on the disintegration products of wood pulp, to grow several crops of tomatoes a year by tank gardening, and to produce sugar by the agency of bacteria from vegetable waste matter.

Without committing ourselves to any dogmatic assertions about how far this skill will go on, we can at least say this. The tendency of discovery during the past two centuries has been to increase the potential local self-sufficiency consistent with the satisfaction of fundamental human needs. Opinions may differ about what conclusions are to be drawn from this, and only two comments will be added. One is that it permits us to entertain the possibility of a less centralized and therefore less bureaucratic and less congested type of world organization as a goal for rationally guided effort. The other is this. The war-mongers of Central Europe and elsewhere know too well that free trade is no longer part of the ideological temper of the age in which we live, and that the appeal for national self-sufficiency canalizes discontent with the dreary futilities of planless mechanization in congested modern communities. It is therefore a tragic fact that those who have the will to peace too often resist propaganda for a greater measure of local self-sufficiency with arguments which antedate the synthetic manufacture of nitrate fertilizers.

Of itself the appeal for local self-sufficiency is neither good nor bad. In fascist states self-sufficiency is advocated as a means of war-making without regard for the social welfare of the citizen. Where social policy becomes alert to the new powers and inventions available for human well-being, the satisfaction of basic human needs will take precedence over the multiplications of useless commodities to distract neurotic urban populations, and the merits of industrial specialization will be examined with proper regard to the distribution of population in congenial and healthy surroundings. The doctrine of free trade was sustained by the moral conviction that the greatest good of the greatest number is the same as the greatest amount of goods available to the greatest number of people. Its apostles accepted the urban squalor of a coal company as the inevitable price to pay for their own definition of prosperity. For privacy and serenity of life, the satisfaction of parenthood, and the graces of human fellowship in modest communities they offered mankind the compensations of the department store and labor-saving flats in flowerless streets. Fascism is the answer of animals who are intelligent enough to be exasperated, and too demoralized to explore an alternative constructive use for the new powers at hand.

During the first phase of steam power another feature of the impact of new technical resources was a steady reduction in the demand for skilled handicraftsmen. This encouraged Socialists to believe that society was splitting up into a small parasitic class of owners and an ever-growing, increasingly militant class of employees with common political aspirations. A skyscraper of social tactic was built on this foundation of a priori psychology, which was in essence legalistic, like the political theory of the orthodox parties. The implicit assumption is that the physical character of a man's work, the surroundings in which it is carried out, monotony, initiative, solitude, propinquity to home environment, accessibility to outdoor exercise—all these are negligible in their effect upon his political affiliations in comparison with the *legal contract* regulating his employment. A biologist knows that a man's attitude to books will depend among other things upon whether he is physically weary or merely bored when he comes home at night, that is, upon whether he

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does work that is fatiguing or work that is monotonous. Consequently we should not make the mistake of expecting the miner to respond to the same political doctrines as the clerk in the department store.

Even before the introduction of electricity as a source of power, the conduct of a mechanized and more highly urbanized society had initiated changes which counteracted the cultural process of leveling down. Universal schooling, a popular press, free libraries succeeded one another in countries with a democratic constitution. With the coming of electricity as a source of power, industry was influenced by new technical advantages of mobility. Where electricity has been introduced into the factory, it has created a demand for a new type of skill and special training, while dispensing with a large volume of unskilled and casual labor which can be done by machinery. To see the impact of the new technical forces most clearly we need to examine the statistics of a country which is in a more advanced state of technical development than Britain. In his recent book "Insurgent America" Alfred Bingham makes an analysis of the growth of social classes in the United States during recent years which shows that the new type of skilled administrative employee has steadily increased in proportion to laborers performing heavy unskilled work.

Thus modern technology has brought into being a social group with social aspirations and a social status of its own. Its social aspirations for further opportunity of employment can be realized only by the further extension of the technical improvements which have encouraged its growth. For the time being at least, it is still growing, and it is at present politically inarticulate. It may therefore play a decisive role in the success of any social movement which can claim its allegiance. In a period of social crisis its importance should not be judged by its numerical strength, because its personnel commands resources against which mere man power is helpless and barricades are literary illusions. If it can be enlisted in a task which will offer it far greater opportunities of creative service than it now enjoys, the transition from a discredited and demoralized competitive industrial system to one that is rationally planned is assured. If it is driven by hysterical fear of chaos to support any dictator movement which offers the prospect of a breathing space, it may become the instrument of destroying democracy, freedom of speech, and the hope of peace.

I may sum up what I have called the creed of a scientific humanist in three articles which provide a broad basis for reasonable cooperation between men and women who share the scientific outlook and also take their responsibilities as citizens seriously: (1) to transform a society in which production is conducted for private profit into a society whose primary concern is that scientific knowledge be applied to the satisfaction of common human needs; (2) to seek for scientific knowledge concerning common human satisfactions as a basis for planning the distribution of population, for eliminating noise and other public inconveniences, for extending the domain of communal enjoyment by large-scale horticultural public works, and the like; (3) to promote the peaceful evolution of society by immediate educational reforms which will entail the teaching of science with much greater attention to its social implications and the teaching of the humanities in conformity with the scientific outlook.

Pocket Guide

BY HELEN WOODWARD

Virgin Wool

IT IS bad enough to have the wool pulled over your eyes, but when it's imitation wool it's even worse. What you want to know when buying wool is really very simple—will it keep you warm, and will it wear? But, alas, only tests in laboratories can answer these simple questions. A hearing on wool is soon to be held before the Federal Trade Commission, and it would be a good idea to keep an eye on it. It is to decide whether or not some fabrics shall be marked "virgin wool."

A large industry has grown up to turn old rags into new cloth. Left-over fabrics, rags, and old clothes are raveled out, thoroughly cleaned, and rewoven into cloth. The result is called "reworked wool."

Virgin wool is wool never used before. To the uninitiated virgin wool would seem to be always better than reworked wool. Sometimes it is, but sometimes it isn't. Reworked wool may actually be better than virgin wool. The quality of wool depends partly on the length of the fiber, and that varies according to the part of the sheep from which the wool is shorn. Wool from the back is longer and therefore better than wool from the belly or legs. Virgin wool from belly or legs may make poorer cloth than reworked wool from the back.

Prominent in the fight for marking virgin wool is Forstmann-Hoffmann, a big manufacturer of high-priced woolens. This firm and its followers claim that it will result in more new wool being used, to the advantage of American woolgrowers. Other wool manufacturers claim that Forstmann-Hoffmann imports most of its wool from Australia, and that little benefit would accrue to American growers.

Just as in the silk campaign about which I wrote a few weeks ago, speakers have been appearing before women's clubs, and articles and books on this virgin-wool business have been published. The General Federation of Women's Clubs has been very active in support of the movement. But the American Home Economics Association, which is one of the ablest of the consumer groups, has dropped out of the fight. A great deal of money seems to be behind the campaign.

There is no reason why high-class wool manufacturers and consumers shouldn't get together for mutual protection. The customer has a right to know whether the wool she's buying is virgin or reworked. But the trouble is that this is not one of the main things she wants to know about wool. What she

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wants to know is how warm a piece of wool is and how strong it is; in other words, its weight and its tensile strength. And whether the wool is virgin or not is a small part of this story. To tell her how much weight of wool there is in a pound of the fabric, Consumers' Union suggests that the markings might be light weight, medium weight, or heavy weight.

The Federal Trade Commission has issued regulations on how the percentage of wool is to be shown. To be called "all wool," material must contain at least 98 per cent wool. If it contains less than 5 per cent, it cannot be called wool at all. And here's an awkward clause: Up to 25 per cent it must be labeled, "Not less than 5 per cent." Well, if you make a fabric containing 20 per cent wool and have to mark it, "Not less than 5 per cent," where does that get you? As a consequence, hardly anybody makes a 20 per cent wool.

But as far as the consumer is concerned, this is of merely trivial interest, because fabric less than one-quarter wool is no warmer than cotton, and won't wear as well. Better buy cotton. Of if you like the wool look, there's a new short-fibered rayon that is called artificial wool. You will find it in the five-and-ten-cent stores made into socks. These feel like wool in the hand, but they don't feel like wool on the foot, if by wool you mean warmth. There seems to be no good reason why the exact percentage of wool content, between 5 and 98 per cent, should not be marked on all fabrics, as well as the rayon and the cotton content.

Ruth Brindze's new book, "Johnny Get Your Money's Worth," suggests simple tests that you can make at home. Burn a corner of a bit of material. All-wool will burn slowly and smell like singed feathers. Pure silk will leave little hard black balls at the edge of the burn. Rayon will flare up and burn quickly and may have a sharp, vinegary odor. Cotton also will flare up but will give off no odor.

In the quality of wool other things count, too, things that you'd never think of, like the breed of the sheep, what they ate, and the climate in which they were raised. The best wool, for instance, seems to come from high places, like Scotland or the Andes or our own Western mountains. Very important are the manufacturing processes. There is, for instance, a quick process for cleaning wool which almost ruins it as far as wearing quality is concerned. The Federal Trade Commission got all mixed up on wool last spring because it called in no technical experts to advise it.

How, then, can wool be marked to help you to buy wisely? Should we have the percentage of wool, the weight of the filling yarns and the warp, the Bureau of Standards recommendations, the tensile tests by "grab" method for warp and filling, points of heat "as measured for thermal transmission"? All are good, but what customer is going to look into all that on the label before she buys? And unless the customer is trained, what meaning will these specifications have for her? Very likely she'll throw up her hands and say to the salesman, "Oh, I haven't time! Which do you recommend?"

Perhaps the most sensible idea would be to mark wool in certain fairly simply grades under government direction. Then perhaps "wool" would once more be a cosy word of old-fashioned comfort.

In the Wind

WITH DIPLOMATIC negotiations for a Spanish "settlement" reaching their climax, Washington observers are increasingly bewildered by White House treatment of Claude G. Bowers, American ambassador to Spain. Since the war began the President has never summoned Bowers to Washington for a first-hand report. Other diplomatic officials, especially William C. Bullitt, have made periodic voyages, and each time have assured the President that Franco was on the verge of victory; their reports are said to have been instrumental in shaping American policy. Bowers, who has never subscribed to this view, has remained abroad.

IN HIS blast to reporters against the conduct of the Dies committee, Mr. Roosevelt urged that they interview those newsmen who had covered the hearings and obtain personal impressions of the proceedings. In accordance with this advice reporters for the pro-New Deal New York *Daily News* questioned correspondents who had attended the hearings and discovered a dominant feeling that the committee had been extremely unfair. The anti-New Deal Chicago *Tribune* also made inquiries and reported to its readers that correspondents on the spot felt the committee had been eminently fair.

IN OMAHA recently education officials were compelled to turn off 50 per cent of all lights in public schools because the high electric rates could not be met by the city's dwindling finances. Shortly afterward, with unconscious irony, the Nebraska Power Company ran a benefit dance as part of its high-pressure campaign to win public favor. The company announced that "the proceeds [of the dance] will buy eyeglasses for a lot of little school kids whose mas and pas can't afford to pay for them."

NOT REPORTED in the United States was a strange "forecast" of America's future which appeared in the Italian anti-Semitic magazine *La Vita Italiana*. This journal predicts that the United States "will soon have an all-Jewish government." The line-up is to be: President, Bernard Baruch; Vice-President, Albert Einstein; Secretary of State, Herbert Lehman; Secretary of War, Leon Trotsky. The same paper announces that "President Roosevelt is a Jew himself."

THE PRESS also failed to record an impressive development which took place in Loyalist Spain last summer. On August 11 the government decreed that all death sentences which had been passed by republican tribunals were to be suspended—an amazing act for a war-time government surrounded by espionage, treason, and sabotage. It is also little known that of 12,518 defendants summoned before the Special High Tribunal for Treason and Espionage between June, 1937, and October, 1938, only 638 were given death sentences and only a third of those were actually executed.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

WHEN I read of the death of Alma Gluck Zimbalist at fifty-four I found it hard to grasp the news. True, she had long been ill, and all who knew her were deeply worried. Still we felt that somehow or other that brave and blithe spirit would and must go on; we could not possibly lose her. Yet there the dread fact is. I, for one, know no one else to compare to her. Of course there are other great artists with rare personalities who have also fought their way upward with courage and determination, some who have graced the concert halls or the operatic stage much longer than she did. But I know no duplicate of the warmth and largeness of Alma Gluck Zimbalist's artistic spirit, coupled with so vivid an interest in all that was happening in the world and with such an understanding sympathy. Her mind was as attuned to the winds of the times in which she lived as her artistic soul to the music which she so movingly interpreted.

Of course she felt keenly for the under-dog. How could she do else? The newspapers said that her early years in New York were desperately hard ones. That was a mild statement. She was an immigrant child, the daughter of Rumanians who came to this country, I suppose in the steerage, in the days before we were told that the immigrants from Southeastern Europe were undesirable and a danger to the Republic. Then immigrants were not only accepted but imported in droves to settle new territories, man new factories, create new wealth, and often to suffer almost unbearably in the process of readjustment to an alien world. If many perished in the process, Alma Gluck could not be kept down. She rose steadily, educated herself, opened the way for the growth of her inborn fineness and charm, and became year by year the able, well-bred woman who graced every dinner-table at which she sat, illumined every group of which she was a part.

It was not until after her first unhappy marriage that Alma Gluck devoted herself to the development of her lovely if somewhat fragile voice. She carried that through with the same determination for success which marked her whole career but never dominated it or obtruded itself. She was always just Alma, with her gaiety, her resiliency, her confidence, her ability to find the road to people's hearts. I can recall her earliest successes in New York, the charm of her youthful appearance, the furor she created, her instant acceptance as an artist to her finger-tips, her rise to the Metropolitan. It was a marvelous success story, as impressive as the climb of any captain of industry from newsboy to multi-millionaire. She was a good business woman too, but her desire to be successful and independent never hardened her nature or dulled its quick response to new ideas, new points of view. When the day came on which Alma Gluck felt that she had to choose between her career and her family, there was no hesitation, and how that family rewarded her! She always insisted that Efrem Zimbalist inspired her; I have an idea that he would put it quite differently—but there one may not venture in. She lived to see the daughter of her first marriage, Marcia Davenport, take her place among the distinguished writers of her time. This daughter, too, knew how to carve her own way in life to early success, as did her wise and gifted mother. Never, I believe, did Alma Zimbalist regret her decision. How could she? Her life was full, rich, rounded, and most useful. She spent herself freely wherever she could. To the end she was her fresh, spontaneous, generous, vivid self.

Sadly enough, I have just come from the funeral of another immigrant, B. Charney Vladeck, in his youth a revolutionist against the Czar, who knew what it was to sit behind prison bars. He, too, was a Jew, a Russian Jew. And he gave to his adopted country a loyalty, a devotion, a readiness to serve, and an adherence to its principles which none surpassed. No sooner had he come here than he steeped himself in our literature, our political history, read deeply of the lives of our great men. For many years the manager of a powerful Jewish daily, the only daily of which I know whose owners take not one cent out of its often rich treasury, he was at his death the minority leader of our first New York City Council. I have often sat with Vladeck on committees, worked with him for our joint causes, and shared defeats with him. I learned from him always, and never once heard a word from his lips that was other than unselfish and fine. If ever there was a true American it was he. People speak to me of what they call Jewishness, "tainting" every Jewish point of view, prompting every action, influencing every ambition. I do not know what they mean. I can no more understand anyone's proscribing the race which can produce such spirits as these two friends of mine, and many, many others whose friendships have honored me, than I can understand the readiness of some American men to torture, hang, and burn members of still another race.

Yes, they were immigrants, and they came from that terrible Eastern Europe. And how infinitely well Alma Zimbalist and Charney Vladeck repaid all that this country did for them—and enriched its soul!

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Brave Immortal Dan

KING OF THE BEGGARS: DANIEL O'CONNELL AND THE RISE OF IRISH DEMOCRACY. By Sean O'Faolain. Viking Press. $3.50.

DANIEL O'CONNELL, "the greatest of Irish realists," has had to wait for a completely realistic account of his character and career. In the minds of simple people he remains a legendary hero; the title of this review is copied from three words written in a firm but untutored hand in a copy of an earlier biography belonging to the New York Public Library. But intellectual Irishmen have not been able to face entirely without flinching this man upon whom the ambiguous traits of the complex Irish race are so firmly stamped. O'Connell was himself a snob. Snobbery of one kind or another is an Irish failing. We do not come upon O'Connell's name in Yeats's poetry, along with the names of Edward Fitzgerald, Tone, and Emmett. He has been omitted from that "delirium of the brave."

He died a rich old man. In the '40's the leaders of Young Ireland already rejected his personality and deplored his methods. They hated the cheap theatricality which covered, in his late years, his conservatism. It has been hard for O'Faolain to direct complete sympathy, at times, upon his subject. For at his worst O'Connell is the appalling prototype of the Irish politician, the job-giver, the slick lawyer, the man corrupted by power and corrupting those whom he seems to serve. It is O'Faolain's triumph—and in this book he has written one of the very finest modern biographies—that he has been able to present O'Connell complete: his democratic ideas learned from the end of the eighteenth century, his quick wit, his humor, his thoughtless Irish boldness, and his Irish duality of mind, which is at once a great racial gift and a grave racial flaw.

The romanticizing of Irish history has gone on so long that it is shocking to come upon the actual facts. The Irish Catholics, the "natives," after the broken treaty of Limerick in 1692 were reduced to the state of pariahs. Their religion was outlawed. They could own nothing. "They had no parliament, no vote, no papers, no books, no leaders, no hope. . . . Ireland was not a country; it was a shambles of exploitation."

O'Connell was born in 1775. His family belonged to the old Catholic landowning class. He was adopted by an uncle who had managed in his isolated Kerry holding, because of successful smuggling from France, to keep some power in the countryside. Dan was reared by a peasant foster-family and learned his letters from a "hedge schoolmaster." During his childhood, after the war with America, England relaxed the penal laws. In 1793 Catholics were allowed to vote, although they were still barred from Parliament, all municipal offices, and the high ranks of the professions. Dan and his brother were sent to Jesuit colleges in France to complete their education. The Revolution broke. The brothers went to London, where Dan entered Lincoln's Inn in 1794. In 1798 he took the oath of allegiance and was admitted to the Dublin bar. "He entered one of the filthiest cockpits known to man: the Irish bar before and after the Union."

The tactics of Catholic merchants and aristocrats, and of enlightened Protestants like Grattan, who realized that government could not be based on slavery, were to organize meetings and draw up petitions which, as ministries came and went, met with greater or less success. And now, for the first time since Limerick, abortive risings began, led by Fitzgerald, Tone, Emmett. But in spite of all efforts the Union came in 1800. The Irish Parliament went to Westminster, the Union Jack became Britain's flag. Dan rode circuit. His reputation for eloquence and cleverness grew. "The aristocrats would have gone on forever, presenting petition after petition, never once feeling the blast of honest rage at the insult implicit in the contemptuous patience of their governors. Not so an O'Connell."

For soon this vulgar "native," this Catholic "scum of the earth," dared to lay bare the whole corruption of Dublin Castle and Dublin courts, of bribery and packed juries. The trial of Magee was fought by him with "wild courage"; it smashed the Catholic aristocratic junta, which had turned against him. His speech was published, and the outcast Irish people—peasants and inhabitants of Irishtowns outside city walls—shouted their enthusiasm. O'Connell had begun to check "the spiritual chloroform, the creeping paralysis of the soul," from which they suffered. After the European peace of 1814 Robert Peel threw all his energy into subduing the ferment O'Connell had caused. He formed a vast native sycophancy—the "Cawstle Cawtholics"—and established the Royal Irish Constabulary—the "peelers"—peasant sons who spied on their own people. O'Connell was now the leading lawyer of Ireland and a European figure. In this year he projected a scheme that revealed his practical genius for agitation. "The impoverished people were to enrol themselves in a vast army of the poor, and they—the starving!—pay the expenses of their army. The snobs roared their contempt."

But the scheme worked. Later Disraeli was to speak of "the princely revenue, arising from a starving race of fanatical slaves." Farthings collected at church doors were sent to "the Liberator." And now the peasants in Waterford voted against their own landlord, a Beresford. For this they faced, and underwent, eviction. Two years later O'Connell put himself up as a candidate in County Clare.

O'Faolain's account of this election is extremely moving. It is the peasants themselves, driven in crowds like cattle to the open voting places, "moving balls of tatters that called themselves men and women," daring to cast their vote for O'Connell under the eye of their lord, who become heroes. The King, told that it would now take 70,000 troops to control Ireland, signed in April, 1829, the Catholic Emancipation bill. In May O'Connell crossed to London and claimed his seat, refusing to take the oath which denounced Catholics as idolators.

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O'Faolain has not sweetened his account of O'Connell's later years, when place got to him; when he hedged, spoke against the workers, and opposed the Irish poor laws. As he coarsened and declined, his power of vituperation increased. O'Faolain insists, however, that the Young Ireland which regarded him with contempt had never known the slime out of which O'Connell lifted an entire people. Young Ireland's self-flattering and unrealistic literature soon deadened into fixed forms. But O'Connell's tactics remained alive and were later incorporated in Parnell's and Sinn Fein's methods. The fight for Irish freedom went its complex and bloody way. And it was from the Post Office in O'Connell (not, as formerly, Sackville) Street in Dublin that the shots of the Easter Rebellion were fired. LOUISE BOGAN

Grass Roots

WHITMAN. By Newton Arvin. The Macmillan Company. $2.75.

IN ALMOST every way this is an admirable book. The subject is a large one, so large, in fact, that even to this day, though a great mass of documentation exists, there is no final work on Whitman. Perhaps there can be no final book, since each succeeding age needs its own comment on so vast a man. But if *the* study of Whitman is ever written, one can honestly claim that it would have been impossible without Mr. Arvin's book.

Arvin's is a profound study of Whitman's imaginative background, not only of the actual sources of his material but of the poet's crystallizing attitude toward it. It investigates in considerable detail the politics of the epoch and the poet's relation to active politics. It shows us clearly the economic temperature of the time and its effect on Whitman. Perhaps the most surprising section deals with the effects on his verse of the science, philosophy, and religion of the day. It is fascinating to discover the exact degree of impress on an American poet of the great nineteenth-century geologists, chemists, physicists, and astronomers. The final section analyzes Whitman's work as a testimony to lyric socialism. Mr. Arvin's mind is so clear, his attitude so admirable, his analyses so large and sober that one hesitates to cavil at even a single statement. Yet the book has its own self-stated limitations.

It is not for those persons, however rare, who know little of Whitman's life. To be sure, there is a chronology at the back, but one very much wishes Mr. Arvin had amplified it into a biographical sketch, at least as extended as his other five sections. One can of course turn to Traubel, but Mr. Arvin's own statement and interpretation of the daily facts of Whitman's life would have added enormously to the convenience of our reading. Hence, not having Whitman the living man very much in our minds as we read, we tend to think of him in terms of the philosophical abstractions which are Mr. Arvin's chief concern. This goes less well for the study of a nature like Whitman's than for most others. Whitman's essential fiber, his moral and intellectual qualities, are rendered very clearly, but his emotional nature somehow gets overlooked. Mr. Arvin may easily answer that his verse is his best portrait, and that we would not read this present book if we did not know "Leaves of Grass" almost by heart. Possibly. When one reads such fanciful irritants as John Erskine's recent romance on Whitman, one agrees that perhaps the less said about his "emotional" life the better.

Mr. Arvin is far more of the school of Marx than of Freud. Yet it would be false to say that he has written an arbitrary or doctrinaire study or that he has substituted an economic and dialectical for a psychological and clinical attitude. Every so often, however, he betrays a passing irritation with Whitman's human inconsistency, his failure, for example, more fully to espouse the cause of the trade unions or of abolition. Mr. Arvin seems to have an unstated yet implicit idea of how a true socialist poet should behave. Whitman falls short of this standard. He extravagantly overpraised Grant, for example, and showed little interest in the hard beginnings of political third parties during the seventies and eighties. In an extremely acute paragraph Arvin says:

> The mind of the middle class in Whitman's time shrank back from the austere implications of its own advance toward the understanding and the mastery of nature, physical and biological, just as, politically, it shrank back from the radical implications of its own liberalism, its own battle-cries of equality and brotherhood. It could no more make the full transition from belief to science than it could make the full transition from feudalism to social democracy. . . . The determination to make the best of both worlds went hand in hand with the determination to reconcile democracy and economic individualism.

This is the central idea of Arvin's study, and it is pursued to such logical and deep sources that it is almost ungrateful to say it has a certain coloration of magisterial remonstrance. He is impatient with Whitman and (with far more right) many left-liberal writers of today for their incapacity to think, write, and act simultaneously on whatever has aroused their indignation. Yet for Whitman we can surely plead the extenuation of an inertia that was necessary to cushion the shock of what he saw and to give him time and strength to forge the weapon he was to use so well.

I wish Mr. Arvin had investigated the effect of visual imagery on Whitman more fully. His portrait is of a man with head and heart but with his eyes weakly indicated. Yet this is unimportant in comparison with what Arvin tells us about how Whitman "helped to dissociate such proud words as 'noble' from their old affiliations with caste, and to reassociate them with the rank and file of men."

> He could do so because his feelings themselves were so wholly reassociated: for him it was as natural to see personal distinction, essential human grandeur, in an old farmer or a young fireman as it was for Homer to see these things in a tribal chieftain or for Shakespeare to see them in an English peer.

Arvin points out that Whitman failed to appreciate the active class war of his period and avoided the depiction of economic exploitation in its manifold forms of violence. Perhaps Whitman refused to write about these things because such flaws might mar the optimistic democracy of his conglomerate hymn. Sometimes one feels that Arvin blames the dead poet for some of the faults of his living heirs. Nevertheless, this book is full of "decorum," a word his hero liked to use. Whitman himself in mid-career would have far preferred Arvin's evaluation to the shy admiration of Boston

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or the mystified applause of the British of his own epoch. This is the highest praise I can think of to give a splendid work.

LINCOLN KIRSTEIN

An Unhabitual Way

A GLAD DAY. Poems by Kay Boyle. Norfolk, Connecticut: New Directions. $2.

IT WAS Aristotle who said that for the poet "the greatest thing by far is to have a command of metaphor." William James defined genius as "little more than perceiving in an unhabitual way." Whatever else is wanting in Kay Boyle's poetry, it shows her to possess that "greatest thing." It is touched with genius.

Most of these poems are about ten years old. One remembers having read them in the expatriate magazines of the post-war period. Removed from that setting, and assembled in one slight volume (there are only twenty-four pieces here), they tend to date. The drunken fluency of some, while delighting by its impetuousness, annoys by its incoherence. But if their faults become more apparent, so do their beauties. They shock ear and eye with a more splendid vigor. They pierce below surfaces with a more penetrating intensity.

Half the time it is impossible to say what these poems are "about." Some exceptions are the brief image Hunt, the objective and slightly sentimental Funeral in Hungary, the elaborate Statement for El Greco and William Carlos Williams, and the Communication to Nancy Cunard, which might better have borne its original title, Scottsboro. This untranslatableness, itself a mark of good work, applies to one of the most memorable pieces in the book: A Complaint for Mary and Marcel.

The substance of these poems is the response of a sensitive, cultivated woman to the excitements of this cockeyed world, and, more often, to the tragedies of expatriate artists (and amateurs) caught in the toils of contemporary living. The unique character of Miss Boyle's work lies in the way she has handled this refractory material. She has been called an imagist, and though she avoids the hard clarity of pure imagism she does have a flair for conveying sensation, for producing atmosphere, for making the moment real in a physical way, that is a hallmark of the school. More often she employs or approximates surrealism, organizing objects about an emotion, and telescoping her figures, dream-fashion. Sometimes she combines passages of surrealist prose with snatches of simple balladry and ill-concealed iambic pentameter in a curious and arresting manner. But what chiefly distinguishes her work and makes it valuable is her surprising, vivifying perceptiveness, her capacity for seeing things in new relations, for combining them and making them act upon each other in new ways. Her metaphors explode brilliantly, dissolving before they are fully formed and arising anew in unexpected shapes. Illusion becomes as present as reality; reality takes on the magnified character of illusion. Here, if anywhere, we have "imaginary gardens with real toads in them." The fewest of her images may be isolated, and those do not give the peculiar quality of her writing but are worth noting, as this, of a love-song:

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It may be sung without rehearsal any night
At bars or cafe tables; it may suddenly rise
The way a statue in the falling dark
Discards its marble and its classic eyes.

Or this passage from the opening poem:

There is another season after spring when lights as white as fountains spray the north, and leaves like tar drip thickly from the bough and cast a cloak of elegance around. When odor leaps full-blown upon the stalk and music runs in hard steep flights of sound, when taste lies slow as honey in the mouth and drifts of snow lie changeless at the pass.

Experience is so thick with disorder that it is not surprising if the artist, seeking to communicate it, should occasionally babble. Miss Boyle has not imitated those Gothic tribes who were said to have debated matters of state once drunk and once sober, drunk that they might not lack vigor, sober that they might not want discretion. One would not wish her to be more discreet, but the strength of her writing would be greater if it were not sometimes so loose. These poems remain vital because Kay Boyle has perceived certain events in an unhabitual way and, to however limited a circle, communicated her unique perception. BABETTE DEUTSCH

Public Ownership in England

BRITISH EXPERIMENTS IN PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL. By Terence H. O'Brien. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.

THE PUBLIC CORPORATION IN GREAT BRITAIN. By Lincoln Gordon. Oxford University Press. $3.50.

THE still popular if threadbare argument that socialism must involve enmeshing the entire economic system in red tape has recently been reinforced by the assertion that it must lead to the totalitarian state. Thus a horrifying vision is conjured up for the innocent of a vast multiplication of Post Offices each headed by a Farley in uniform. To propaganda of this nature these two severely objective studies of British experiments in public ownership offer a useful corrective. Both authors describe the three major postwar developments—the Central Electricity Board, the British Broadcasting Corporation, and the London Passenger Transport Board—while Mr. Gordon also includes a chapter on the Port of London Authority. This last may, perhaps, be regarded as a halfway house between the private monopoly and the public corporation, for a majority of its board represents the private interests whose suicidal competition it was designed to end. The three former, much as they differ structurally, all have the earmarks of socialism in so far as they combine public ownership and public accountability. Both Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Gordon suggest, however, that the effort to give these bodies business management, free from day-to-day political interference, has tended to weaken unduly the element of public control. These two books cover a good deal of the same ground, but the latter has been conceived on somewhat broader lines than the former and has more to say on the personnel problems which have arisen in the public corporation, including the vital question of incentives. KEITH HUTCHISON

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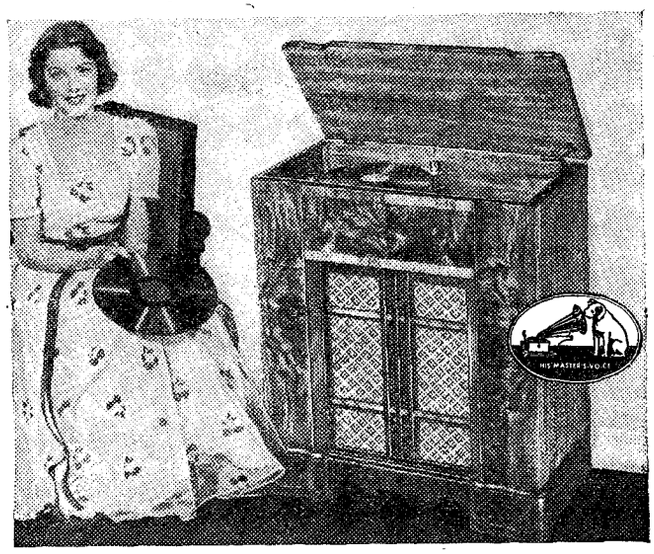

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FILMS

IT IS very pleasant to be able to start this column by recommending both major openings of the week. "The Young in Heart" (United Artists) sets out to entertain in good taste and achieves this difficult task. "The Citadel" (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer), adapted from A. J. Cronin's novel, attacks a great theme, the way of a young doctor from honest beginnings into money and back to serious work.

"The Young in Heart" has a witty and charming story, touched in spots with a deeper irony worthy of the earlier René Claire. A family of lovable crooks is found out in Monte Carlo when father overplays his hand, and is sent back to England without a penny. In urgent need of a new victim, they find an ideal one on the train in the person of a kind old lady, very lonesome and very rich. They are nice to her, first as a matter of business, so that they may sponge on her and become the beneficiaries of her will. But in order to put the big coup over they have to pretend decency so long that they become what they pretend to be, honest people.

There is only this one situation, of crooks who catch themselves, but this limitation is turned into an advantage. Instead of action chasing superficial action, gag by gag, known types of the comedy stage are deepened into characters, and become quite real and true in the fairy-tale frame of the whole. This result is gained by excellent teamwork; an expensive production; the successful use of almost everything that film technique of today can offer; a direction by Richard Wallace which is restrained, exactly to the point, and never lets the actor run away; and last but not least a cast which could not be better—Billie Burke, Henry Stephenson, Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., Janet Gaynor, and Paulette Goddard, with special mention for Minnie Dupree as the old lady. On her ability to inspire love, all the others, and the plot, depend. At moments her performance lifts mere acting into art.

"The Citadel" sets out to do more than entertain. It is technically a great picture. Scenes of exceptional variety, action, high suspense—for these values alone the film is notable. In addition there is superb acting by Robert Donat, Rosalind Russell, and many others, guided by a sure hand. Robert Donat has strong moments of simplicity and conviction, more often in smaller scenes where he can avoid the pathos of heroism that the script seems sometimes to force upon him. Rosalind Russell, I must admit, is a favorite of this column. She remains always a greater person than the great movie actress she is, which cannot be said of many in Hollywood. If both main players seem unable to dissolve the types they have been given into the final convincing complexity of characters, they cannot be held responsible, for script and direction stress less the inner development of a young and handsome doctor who compromises than the stations of life at which he arrives. By this method the values of external dramatic situations are heightened—at the cost of experience. The hero's way down in climbing up to prosperity is illustrated more by strikingly changing milieus, new clothes, a car, a moustache, than by the growing despair inside. All this is in conformity with the script, which works

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too much with devices. I could not quite believe the corruption. Therefore the resurrection left me a bit cold.

Of the two pictures the ironical comedy, following, of course, a well-established pattern, is the more finished one. The ambitious drama with an obvious message stops short of being the great picture it wants to be. That objective is beyond the power of the immense amount of talent and sincere intentions at work. I shall discuss the many problems involved in other columns, from fortnight to fortnight.

At the Cameo, "Danton," one of the better German films of pre-Hitler days, is being shown. It was a surprising hour for me and will be an experience for everyone who knew the great period of German film production and is aware of the fate of its prominent artists. Present reality interferes. Fritz Kortner, an exile now in New York, plays Danton. His Austrian voice sounds like Hitler's over the radio. And, most ghastly, I could not help seeing Robespierre as the Nazi *Intendant* of the Staatstheater in Berlin, a post which the subtle Gustav Gründgens occupies today.

FRANZ HOELLERING

RECORDS

MOZART'S piano concertos have a special character which gives them a special fascination. They were written for occasions—the concerts in which Mozart presented himself to the public as performer and composer; they were written, then, with a purpose—to display his qualities with the most impressive effect, and with effect always newly contrived. To hear one of the concertos is to hear Mozart on parade, so to speak—from his first entrance on the scene, through all the varied interplay with orchestra, to the last sweeping bow—in all the richness and éclat of his musical personality. And to hear the next concerto and the next is to hear all this accomplished by constantly fresh invention that is fascinating in its inexhaustible variety.

Three of the greatest of these works are offered by Victor's recent special list: K. 491 (four records, $8), with a first movement that is one of the most powerful things in all Mozart; K. 467 (four records, $8), with its breath-taking second movement; and K. 453 (three records, $6.50), with its rich vein of mingled wit and loveliness. The performances —Fischer's of K. 491 and 453, Schnabel's of K. 467—are superb; but unfortunately the second movement of K. 467 fails of complete effect through recording which does not always keep the slow cantilena of the piano clearly outlined above the restless eighth-notes and the exciting plucked bass-notes of the orchestra. To these Victor adds the Piano Concerto K. 537 (four records, $8), which I find to be of lesser stature, though with occasional passages in which Mozart makes his power felt. The first and last movements gain by the strength which Landowska's performance imparts to them; the second movement loses by the excessive coyness. Then the charming Concerto K. 365 for two pianos (three records, $6.50), in a good performance which occasionally reveals the disparity between the playing of Artur Schnabel and that of his son. And finally the high-spirited and witty

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Violin Concerto K. 216 (three records, $6.50) in a performance by Menuhin that has full-blooded vigor rather than high-spirited wit. I remember more wit in Huberman's version.

Further works of Mozart include two delightful symphonies, K. 319 (three records, $6.50) and the earlier K. 200 (two records, $3.50), both beautifully played—the one by Edwin Fischer's Chamber Orchestra, the other by the Berlin College of Instrumentalists under Fritz Stein. On a single record ($2) Fischer and his orchestra give another beautiful performance of the Rondo K. 382 for piano and orchestra, a minor work; on another single ($1.50) is the powerful Adagio and Fugue K. 546, well played by the Busch Chamber Players; on two records ($4) a brilliant performance by Busch and Serkin of the Violin Sonata K. 377, which I find uninteresting; on a single ($1.50) "Welcher Kummer" from "Die Entführung," beautifully sung by Margherita Perras; on another ($2) "Dove sono" and "Porgi amor" from "Figaro," poorly sung by Tiana Lemnitz.

Schubert is represented by two outstanding sets. One (six records, $10) offers a number of his finest songs, sung with exquisite voice and art by Elisabeth Schumann; and to make it perfect the booklet gives the German texts with English translations (the next step is to include texts on a single sheet with each single record of such songs). The other set (six records, $12) offers all the Impromptus for piano, with the quality and scale of their feeling realized to perfection in the performance of Fischer. A third set gives us a new version of the Quartet "Death and the Maiden" made by the Busch Quartet (four records, $8). The performance in the old Victor set is that of the Budapest Quartet as constituted long ago; but it has warmth, plasticity, and rhythmic incisiveness which are not in the Busch performance.

Heavy-footed and pedantic are also the new Busch recordings of Beethoven's Quartets Opus 127 (five records, $10) and Opus 132 (5½ records, $11); and again I prefer the old Flonzaley version of the one, the old London Quartet version of the other. But to hear the Budapest Quartet's set of Beethoven's Opus 74 ("Harp") (four records, $8) is to realize what was lost by not having this group record the other works, and what will be lost by H. M. V.'s failure to use the group as it deserves. The playing of the Budapest Quartet is in the class of Toscanini's conducting; it is as important to have recordings of the Budapest performances of the quartet literature as it is to have recordings of Toscanini's performances of the orchestral literature; and if H. M. V. acts with stupidity let Victor act with wisdom. Let it record, for example, the Budapest performances of all of Beethoven's quartets (in reverse order); and if Victor fears to take the financial risk, let it offer to do them by subscription.

Another Beethoven set (4½ records, $9) offers the Fifth Symphony as recorded by Furtwängler with the Berlin Philharmonic—which means playing of beautiful sonority and finish, but a performance in which the line of the work is broken, now for Furtwängler to show how finely he can draw a pianissimo, and now for some other achievement of that sort. I still prefer Weingartner's version. And then there is Beethoven's song-cycle "An die ferne Geliebte," which moves one by its simple, wistful tenderness, and which is beautifully sung by Hüsch (two records, $3).

The rest next time.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Children's Books: A Selected List

By LENA BARKSDALE

PICTURE BOOKS

Animals from Everywhere, by Clifford Webb. Warne, $2. An animal book simple in text and beautiful in color and design.

Babar and His Children, by Jean de Brunhoff. Random House, $3. Babar and Celeste became the model parents of three little elephants.

Gloomy, the Camel, by Grace Paull. Viking, $1.50. How a little girl and her mother brought happiness to the zoo.

Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs. Newly translated and illustrated by Wanda Gag. Coward-McCann. $1. The original tale rescued from Hollywood and returned to Grimm.

Buttons, by Tom Robinson. Illustrated by Peggy Bacon. Viking, $2. Realistic story of an alley cat with pictures of wit and distinction.

Barkis, by Clare Newberry. Harper, $1.50. The merry adventures of a cocker puppy and a striped kitten.

Mei Li, by Thomas Handforth. Doubleday, Doran, $2. Chinese New Year story with distinguished pictures.

Wee Gillis, by Munro Leaf. Illustrated by Robert Lawson. Viking, $1.50. Amusing story of a Scotch boy with beautiful drawings.

The Flop-Eared Hound, by Ellis Credle. Photographs by Charles Townsend. Oxford, $2. How a troublesome but devoted dog found a home. Illustrated with lovely photographs.

Mrs. Peregrine and the Yak, by Esther Burns. Illustrations by Eloise Wilkins. Henry Holt, $1. Humorous and highly diverting.

STORIES OF FANCY AND FACT

Stories from the Old Testament. Retold and Illustrated by Maud and Miska Petersham. Winston, $2.75. Tells of Joseph, Moses, Ruth, and David, with superb pictures.

The 500 Hats of Bartholomew Cubbins, by Dr. Seuss. Vanguard, $1.50. A masterly and amusing tale of magic.

East of the Sun and West of the Moon. Edited and illustrated by Ingri and Edgar Parin D'Aulaire. Viking, $3.50. Old tales and new pictures of perennial freshness.

The Forest Pool, by Laura Adams Armer. Longmans, $2. Story of two little Mexican boys and their pets, with pictures of striking beauty.

Mr. Popper's Penguins, by Richard and Florence Atwater. Illustrated by Robert Lawson. Little, Brown, $1.50. The Popper family go on tour with twelve trained penguins.

Copper-Toed Boots, by Marguerite de Angeli. Doubleday, Doran, $2. A little boy of sixty years ago romps through these gay pages.

Cricket, by Berta and Elmer Hader. Macmillan, $2. The private life of a spirited circus pony.

Little Sharp Ears, by John Y. Beaty. Lippincott, $2. A seven-ton baby whale explores the oceans.

America Builds Homes, by Alice Dalgleish. Illustrated by Lois Maloy. Scribner, $1.60. How early American settlers made themselves at home.

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